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Reagan Triumph Blueprint for Conservatives

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"Not since Goldwater's nomination in 1964 have the conservatives had the chance to exploit such a golden opportunity." This reaction—the view of several seasoned political observers—comes in the wake of Ronald Reagan's stunning sweep of the Republican gubernatorial primary election in California. Conservatives, of course, have a much better chance of winning with Reagan, since the actor-turned-politician is considered far more likely to capture the governorship than Goldwater was ever thought likely to take the presidency.

Consider the extent to which Mr. Reagan has already lifted conservative fortunes. By his notable victory last week, he has managed to put California's conservatives in an excellent position of taking control of the most populous state in the nation. Moreover, he has delivered a decisive blow to the theory that Lindsayism is necessarily the wave of the Republican future and he has placed in jeopardy for President Johnson one of the key electoral states in the nation.

Should Reagan go on to win in November—and his chances are amazingly good—he may not only carry California Republicans in on his coattails but his popularity may spill across into neighboring states—thus aiding even out-of-state conservatives. Nor are these the only benefits that conservatives can expect to derive from a Reagan victory in the fall.

Kuchel's Decline

As governor, Reagan will be able, at least partially, to control the 80-odd delegates that California will send to the GOP presidential nominating convention in 1968, a factor that should go a long way toward blocking any liberal seizure of the Republican party machinery at the national level. He would also begin transforming the Golden State into a citadel of conservatism, containing the rampant radicalism and the burgeoning bureaucracy that have flourished under Edmund G. "Pat" Brown's regime. No wonder the liberals have already started to unleash their tired, old charges of "extremism" against Reagan!

The Reagan primary win has still another important side for conservatives: the decline and fall of Sen. Thomas Kuchel, a leading Republican liberal. Kuchel's influence in the California GOP has dwindled to almost zero as a result of Reagan's victory. The Republican Senate whip has suffered one personal defeat after another in the last two years. He sided with Rockefeller against Goldwater in the 1964 Republican presidential primary in California—and lost; he refused to support George Murphy in his Senate race against Democrat Pierre Salinger—and Murphy won handily. When the polls revealed Kuchel couldn't beat Reagan in a gubernatorial primary, Kuchel lashed out at Reagan for being the candidate of the ultra-right.

Opening for New Candidates

Not only did Kuchel campaign for George Christopher, Reagan's chief opponent in the primary, but he refused to say during the primary fight that he would support Republican Reagan, if he won, against Democrat Brown. He has still taken that position at the time of this writing. Furthermore, he has bluntly refused to attend in California on June 23 a unity dinner designed to heal party wounds.

Indeed, as a result of Kuchel's obstreperous tactics and his open attempts to sabotage the popular Reagan, some observers are saying that any number of California politicians could walk off with Kuchel's seat when it comes up for grabs in 1968. (Two likely candidates to oppose Kuchel: Los Angeles Mayor Sam Yorty and State Superintendent of Public Instruction Max Rafferty.)

Desperately seeking to block a potential Reagan victory, Gov. Brown has begun wading into Reagan as an "ultra-conservative" and the "crown prince of the extreme right." But what Brown and his fellow liberals fear far more than alleged "extremism," however, are the cold statistics that strike terror into Democratic hearts.

Sweeps Most Counties

According to the latest figures, Reagan, who polled over 1.3 million votes and outscored Brown in the process, rolled to a 2-to-1 victory over Rockefeller Republican George Christopher, the former mayor of San Francisco. Equally as surprising, however, was that Reagan, a conservative, swept at least 53 of 58 counties, winning areas in the north by more than 2 to 1 and in the south by as much as 4 to 1.

Impressive Arithmetic

When Goldwater battled Rockefeller in the 1964 presidential primary, Goldwater barely squeezed by Rocky in the popular vote and actually lost 43 counties. Yet the arithmetic which alarms Gov. Brown the most were the figures in his own primary. The governor managed to pull only 57 per cent of the vote against Mayor Yorty, the maverick Democrat from Los Angeles. According to one poll, as much as 50 per cent of the Yorty vote will swing over to Reagan in the fall. The number of Christopher Republicans who will desert Reagan for Brown, however, is considered to be far fewer.

Selected Popular Issues

How did Reagan manage to score such a resounding victory, whereas Goldwater barely squeaked through? For one thing, say politicos, no one could accuse Reagan, a candidate for state rather than national office, of "advocating nuclear war" or "trying to repeal Social Security." Reagan purposely stayed clear of issues which the liberals could interpret to his disadvantage. The issues he used, moreover, seemed to favor him. Californians appear to be sick and tired of the high cost of government and Berkeley's beatnik leftists. Reagan, in a convincing style, hit these themes consistently, whereas Christopher had little to say and wound up the last 10 days of the campaign slinging slurs at Reagan for having been connected with leftist causes in the 1940s. (Reagan himself, of course, had years ago confessed to his naivete in this period.)

The conservative candidate was also aided by renewed riots in Watts and the California Supreme Court decision which nullified an overwhelmingly approved state referendum upholding the right of property owners to sell or rent homes to anyone for any reason. But even more than this, Reagan cut across ideological lines with his positive image, his sticking to relevant state issues and his sharp and intelligent responses to liberal reporters. (Surveys of public opinion taken during the last week of the campaign, in fact, showed that two-thirds of Californians had a positive view of Reagan while only one-third had a positive image of Brown. Brown's image, some feel, also suffered because he has tied himself up too directly with LBJ, who is considered unpopular at this time in California.)

Can Reagan beat Brown in November? The chances, obviously, remain good. Except for "Terrible Tommy" Kuchel (who did, finally, send Reagan a notice of congratulations but said nothing about supporting him), Republicans have rallied 'round the Reagan banner.

Sen. George Murphy (R.-Calif.) has come to Reagan's aid, as has former Vice President Richard Nixon. Republican National Chairman Ray Bliss says that Reagan's primary triumph is "decisive" and added: "The sizable majority by which Ronald Reagan won the gubernatorial nomination can now be blended into a united Republican drive for a complete victory in California in November. As national chairman, I urge all Republicans to unite behind him for governor and the Republican nominees for all offices in the state."

House Republican leader Gerald R. Ford (Mich.) remarked that Gov. Brown "will be looking for a new job after the ballots are counted in November." Even Mr. Christopher has endorsed Reagan and says he will vote for him.

Resurgence of Conservatism

Obviously, Reagan is no shoo-in. The liberal battalions in the communications media and in California have already begun to step up their anti-Reagan propaganda, as they realize the conservative candidate might all too easily dislodge Brown in November. But win or lose, many politicos have come to agree with reporter Julius Duscha of the liberal Washington *Post*, that Reagan "has won a campaign that may serve as a blueprint for the resurgence of conservative Republicanism. . . ."

(Also, see Barry Goldwater's remarks on the election, page 9.)

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See page 16 for details.

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● The Chicago **Tribune** had this to say about Reagan's victory: ". . . there were many predictions from liberal columnists that anybody associated with the Goldwater campaign was doomed. . . . Nobody tried harder to elect Goldwater, and nobody made a better presentation of the Republican party's position than Ronald Reagan. If any Goldwater campaigner should have been ruined politically by the elections, as the liberal analysts said, it was Reagan . . . . We suspect also that a good many people who voted for the Johnson-Humphrey ticket are beginning to realize that they were sold a lot of things they did not want."

● Here's why columnist David Lawrence says Reagan was popular with the voters: "Less than two years ago," says Lawrence, "Ronald Reagan delivered a forceful address on television. It was perhaps the best speech made for Barry Goldwater in the whole presidential campaign of 1964. . . . The people formed their impression of Reagan by watching him speak and by listening to words which reflected a sincerity of purpose. The episode furnishes an example of how widespread recognition can come from the delivery of a good political speech which goes to the heart of current problems. . . ."

● Sen. Thomas Kuchel (R.-Calif.) could be dumped from his job as Republican whip if he continues to hold out against supporting Reagan, say Republican insiders.

● Surprise, Surprise Department: The U.S. District Court in Washington has formally postponed the trial date in the Bobby Baker conspiracy case until Jan. 9, 1967—a month and a half after this fall's elections. LBJ, say some observers, is breathing a bit easier now.

● Former Bobby Baker attorney Abe Fortas apparently continues to frequent the White House almost as much as he did prior to his elevation to the Supreme Court by his good friend LBJ. Fortas, at one time LBJ's attorney, is credited with saving the President's political career in 1948 by enabling Johnson, then a senatorial candidate, to win a hotly disputed primary where vote fraud abounded.

● The militant Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, now headed by firebrand Stokely Carmichael, is seeking to link up with leftist forces in other areas of the world. Carmichael, in a recent interview in the pro-Communist **National Guardian**, remarked, "SNCC's view is that we have to start hooking up with people in the third world. . . . We see not an isolated problem, but oppression of certain people by other people. We feel we must now hook up with these other groups." The man heading up this latest SNCC venture: its ex-chairman, John Lewis.

● President Johnson has discovered a controversial new way to raise money for the 1966 congressional campaign: offer an invitation to a White House party, provided the contributor kicks in $10,000 in cash. "So secret is the new group of $10,000 contributors, unofficially known as the 'Elite President's Club,' " say columnists Evans and Novak, "that some high officials in the Democratic party have never heard of it." The prime force behind this most exclusive of all President's clubs are Arthur B. Krim, president of United Artists are finance director of the National Committee, and LBJ himself.

● Republicans in Congress are now boosting Sen. George Murphy (R.-Calif.) to head the Senate Campaign Committee now headed by Sen. Thruston Morton (R.-Ky.). The reason? Murphy is turning out to be the most popular Republican speaker on the lecture circuit. Getting as many as 40 speaking invitations a day, he has, since his short stay in Congress, raised over $2 million for Republicans through speeches.

● Look for the Johnson Administration shortly to introduce its plan to guarantee annual income to the poverty-stricken.

● Rep. Sam Stratton (D.-N.Y.) has urged the secretary of health, education and welfare to refuse federal funds for New York's controversial new Medicare program (see **Human Events**, May 28, page 4). "In its incredible zeal to get its hands on every possible available U.S. nickel the state could now not only go broke," Stratton said, "but might well ruin the whole carefully built structure of private medical insurance programs."

● Rep. E.Y. Berry (R.-S.D.) reports the Office of Economic Opportunity has entered into a contract with the National Education Association to enable teachers and counselors in Job Corps camps to spend a year introducing new teaching methods in their local schools. This, says Berry, is a thinly veiled version of the federal Teachers' Corps, a program Congress has refused to fund. He termed the *OEO* action a "deliberate and intentional violation of the wishes of the American people and the intent of Congress."

● The trustees of Wabash College in Crawfordsville, Ill., have reaffirmed their long-standing refusal to accept federal aid to education funds. "Much of the strength of the college has come from its sense of independence and self-reliance," they said, explaining their position on federal handouts.

● Harold J. Gibbons, a Teamster International vice president from St. Louis, has reportedly told associates he will run for president of the union if Hoffa loses appeals on two court convictions. Gibbons is not only considered a "left-winger," but sports a record as nearly unsavory as that of Hoffa's. When investigating the Teamsters, the McClellan committee found Gibbons violated the union constitution, imported non-dues-paying members into St. Louis to vote for him and has encouraged rough-and-tumble tactics on the picket lines.

● State Department sources reported last month that United Arab Republic President Gamal Abdel Nasser had become more friendly to the United States. Negotiations then opened on a resumption of U.S. aid to the Nasser regime. Only last week, however, Nasser announced that the UAR will support East Germany's application for membership in the United Nations.

● The final tab for the nation's 41,000-mile interstate highway system may now be almost twice as much as originally expected, the Washington **Daily News** reports. The cost of this program was estimated at $27 billion at its inception in 1956. Now the House Public Works Committee thinks it will cost $51.2 billion to bring it to completion. To meet this year's rising costs, the committee has approved an increase in the authorization of the program of $8.9 billion. Less than $700 million of this will go for road-design changes. But the rest of it—more than $8 billion—is needed to cover the inflation in labor costs, materials and right-of-way charges.

REAGAN REPRINTS

"WHY CALIFORNIANS LOOK to RONALD REAGAN" is the title of an exclusive interview with Reagan published in the Feb. 19, 1966 issue of Human Events. **Reprints of this provocative study of California's GOP gubernatorial candidate are still available (see order blank on page 10). Order copies to distribute among your friends and relatives living in California.**

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Top Post for ADAer?

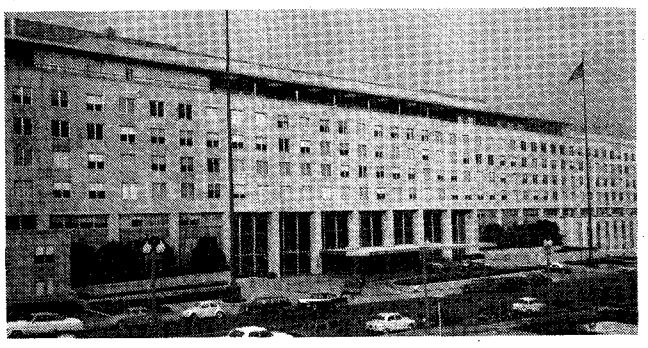
Another Americans for Democratic Action stalwart may soon have a top job in the State Department. He is John P. Roche, former national chairman of the ADA and a good friend of Vice President Hubert Humphrey.

Roche was recently dispatched by the State Department to Viet Nam to assist the Vietnamese in writing a constitution. He is now, according to a number of reports, a leading prospect for the job of State Department planning chieftain, a job still open since Walt W. Rostow vacated the position to become the White House adviser on foreign policy.

The chief of the policy planning section is a highly influential figure who develops long-range foreign policy and participates in major decisions affecting international relations. It was in this post that Rostow developed his famous appeasement schemes in dealing with both Red China and the Soviet Union.

Roche takes a somewhat more realistic view of world affairs than some ADA members, but his elevation to any influential policy post would still be a disaster. Pushed for his new position by Under Secretary of State George W. Ball—a big supporter of expanding trade with Communist countries—Roche remains part and parcel of the American "Democratic left."

He has vigorously objected to America's bombing of North Viet Nam and he leans strongly toward



Will an ADAer work here at State?

unilateral nuclear disarmament. He has praised the position of P.M.S. Blackett, an Englishman, who is a chief spokesman for the unilateral disarmers. Roche says he also tends to agree with Blackett that "the Soviet nuclear power is essentially defensive." He opposes the House Committee on Un-American Activities; he supports Britain's Socialist leaders and he believes JFK "appointed to office the finest and most able group of men and women that the government has probably seen." Even so, Roche is liable to become a key member of the State Department.

Policy Enrages Free Chinese

The Democratic Administration has pulled a big diplomatic blunder with its "appease Red China" stance in recent months, spreading much alarm and resentment among our Nationalist Chinese friends. Diplomatic Row is said to be "stunned" at the enormity of the error, as the policy has worsened relations with one of the few countries that can be expected to back us up in any showdown with the Reds in Asia. Why, it is being asked, is the United States so unconcerned with the feelings of an ally, especially while that ally can supply us with much-needed aid in the war in Viet Nam?

Republic of China officials on Taiwan are bitter about a number of recent events: The State Department's virtual endorsement of the potential sale of a West German steel mill to Red China, the Fulbright hearings, recent scuttling of U.S. restrictions on travel to Red China and indications that the United States is willing to sell food to Mao's mainland.

Reports from Taipei indicate a sharp resentment is building up among the free Chinese in regard to American policy. Anger, say qualified observers, runs extremely deep, with the Baltimore Sun's Peter Kumpa reporting from Taiwan that "some observers here, both in and out of government, theorize that Communists must be subverting the Johnson Administration."

In response to Administration maneuvers, the Foreign Relations Committee of the Legislative Yuan (the Nationalist Chinese parliament) has been holding hearings of its own on America's China policy.

"The hearings in Washington were not fair," said Shieh Jen-chao, one of the three co-chairmen of the Yuan's foreign relations committee. "There were four witnesses for Nationalist China and 10 for the Communists," he bitterly remarked. Shieh argued it was impossible to "contain Communist China without isolation"—a theme popularized by Vice President Hubert Humphrey. Shieh said he was afraid the United States would give the Communists time to stabilize and grow—a course he believes is sure to only strengthen Peking and make it more militant.

Yang Yu-tse, lawyer and publisher of *Democratic China*, an organ of the China Democratic Socialist party, suggested that leading Chinese scholars not connected with the government of the Republic of China be sent to the United States to dispel the

THIS WEEK'S NEWS

from

INSIDE WASHINGTON

prevalent appeasement talks among American academic circles.

Hsu Wei-shun, a former professor of the Peking Normal University who escaped Communist tyranny last year, told the foreign relations committee that Chinese from all walks of life should take urgent steps to counter "a wave of appeasement thinking" among American liberals.

Chow Ching-wen, formerly a key figure of the leftist "Democratic League" in Red China, said the United States will only be playing Peking's game if it thinks it can wait for a softer generation on the Chinese mainland after Mao Tse-tung dies. Chow fled to Hong Kong in 1960, later authoring *Ten Years' Storm*, an anti-Communist book that was well received in the United States.

Many of the hearings were devoted to challenging such "China experts" as John K. Fairbank and A. Doak Barnett, now leading the lobby in the United States to appease Red China.

Taiwan's fury, however, has apparently not dampened Administration appeasement tactics: Last week, Vice President Humphrey poured salt into open wounds by declaring in West Point, N.Y., of all places, that the United States desires to "build bridges" to Red China—just as it is now trying to do with the Soviet Union and East Europe. In the eyes of diplomatic experts, this phrase means one thing in particular: the United States government is sounding out Peking on the possibility of opening up trade negotiations.

Rights Leaders Abuse Meredith

A disillusioned reporter for the liberal New York *Post* last week described the cynical manner in which a number of civil rights leaders tried to "use" James Meredith, victim of a shotgun blast as he marched peaceably on a Mississippi highway. Writing from Mississippi, Pete Hamill said that the Rev. Martin Luther King, SNICK's Stokely Carmichael and CORE's Floyd McKissick callously viewed the Meredith attack as "something of value," which could put new life in a "civil rights movement which has seemed to be petering away." Hamill continued:

"But when it turned out that Meredith had received only superficial wounds and was—according to officials of William F. Bowld Hospital—able to go home, they protested vigorously. Instead of starting the march at Coldwater on schedule at 10 a.m., King, Carmichael and McKissick went to the hospital and talked with great vigor about the need for Meredith to help keep the march going. Obviously, if Meredith were well enough to fly back to New York, the deep national outrage which made Selma possible would probably fizzle. So would the march on Jackson, to which they were strongly committed.

"[Reliable sources within the movement] say that the leaders wanted Meredith to stay in the hospital as long as possible; as long as he stayed, his value as a symbol would continue. The hospital, however, said that Meredith was able and well enough to leave and that his bed could be used by other patients."

For three hours, Hamill wrote, King, Carmichael and Stokeley tried to convince Meredith to remain in the hospital. Meredith rejected their demands, left the hospital and flew to New York.

"Out on the march route, King denied that Meredith had been under any pressure," Hamill reported. "But at least three people who were in and out of his room said the pressure was 'tremendous' and probably contributed to his [subsequent] fainting spell. King shrugged."

Note: Because of Meredith's independent nature, and his refusal to condemn American foreign policy,

Civil rights militants march in Mississippi.

many civil rights militants have refused to accept Meredith. Referring to King, McKissick and Carmichael, Hamill noted: "None of them became involved in his march through Mississippi until he was shot."

Bobby's African Safari

In his desperate bid to capture the presidency in 1968 or 1972, Bobby Kennedy, who once claimed it was in the American tradition to give blood to the Viet Cong, continues to plunge his politics leftward.

KENNEDY

Last week New York's "compulsive candidate" raised eyebrows along Diplomatic Row as a result of his politically motivated South African safari. The main purpose of the trip, say politicos, was to solidify his support among American liberals and minority groups by declaiming against apartheid and racial discrimination in a country which in the eyes of the liberals has become a symbol of these practices.

Kennedy's denunciation of such practices may all be well and good, though some question the propriety of an American publicly condemning the practices of a foreign country while one is a guest of that nation. But Bobby's politicking carried him far afield of just verbal criticism of the South African regime.

Kennedy not only repeatedly took bitter slams at South Africa's racial policies, but he stirred up revolutionary flames across the country by meeting with Chief Albert Luthuli, leader of the Communist-dominated African National Congress. By sympathizing with Luthuli, a Zulu chieftain who has won the Nobel Prize, Bobby also lent prestige and support to his cause.

Yet Luthuli's cause is inextricably linked up with the cause of communism. Luthuli and the African National Congress (ANC) have sent messages of support to Communist "peace conferences," accused the United States of "capitalist warmongering," and dispatched notes of praise to Fidel Castro. The ANC has also praised the Soviet Union and Red China as "progressive" nations. A USIA publication called "Communist Propaganda Around the World—Apparatus and Activities," 1961, lists the African National Congress as part of a Communist front.

The House Foreign Affairs subcommittee on international organizations has published a document stat-

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ing: "The African National Congress has been strongly influenced by Communist sources and has accepted appreciable amounts of money from them."

John B. Marks, a Communist party member and chairman of the national executive committee of the African National Congress, has made a number of trips to Red China where he has condemned the United States over the Peking radio.

There is far more evidence that the ANC is a Communist-dominated group and many of its members

Bobby Kennedy is greeted in South Africa.

have been linked with sabotage activities against the South African government. Chief Luthuli, in fact, has publicly praised convicted South African terrorists who publicly confessed attempts to sabotage the South African regime. Nevertheless, Bobby felt it was perfectly proper last week to encourage the activities of the ANC by meeting with Luthuli.

California Primary Notes

• Max Rafferty, California's conservative state superintendent of public instruction, polled the most votes of any candidate running in the primary elections last Tuesday. Rafferty's large-sized victory, say politicos, is just one more indication of conservative strength in the Golden State.

• Robert Finch, a former Nixon associate who easily won the GOP nomination for lieutenant governor, is expected to be a top asset on the Republican ticket and will no doubt be able to aid Reagan in the big campaign ahead.

• Most of those "peace" candidates running in the Democratic primaries lost last week, including two editors of the viciously left-wing *Ramparts* magazine, Robert Scheer and Edward Keating. But two incumbent Democratic congressmen, both running as peace candidates, won. They are: ADA national chairman Don Edwards and George Brown, Jr.

• Anti-Kuchel (Sen. Thomas Kuchel, R.-Calif.) Republicans are still chuckling over a letter recently sent to the California senator by Republican state chairman Dr. Gaylord Parkinson. Kuchel, it seems, has refused to attend a unity dinner in Los Angeles on June 23 to be addressed by former Vice President Richard Nixon. In a sharply worded letter, Dr. Parkinson wrote:

"I had hoped that this good opportunity to have you meet with all elements of the party would not be overlooked. As you are aware, there is a widespread anti-Kuchel feeling as the result of your lack of active support for the Nixon ticket, the Murphy ticket, the Goldwater ticket and now your pre-primary endorsement [of George Christopher] in the gubernatorial race. Frankly, Tommy, it is my candid opinion that you have a lot of fences to mend in this state." Kuchel, however, lashed out at Parkinson for "attempted intimidation of public servants."

• The latest figures in the California primary, with 30,390 precincts reporting out of 30,586:

REPUBLICAN

Reagan 1,385,550
Christopher 663,199

DEMOCRATIC

Brown 1,334,286
Yorty 994,821

Reagan received 67.5 per cent of the GOP vote (excluding minor candidates). Maverick Sam Yorty took 42.7 per cent of the major Democratic party vote.

Big Labor Aims for Lausche

Reports emanating from the recent AFL-CIO state convention in Cleveland reveal that organized labor is planning to seize control of the Democratic party in Ohio and put the state labor organization's president, State Sen. Frank W. King, into the U.S. Senate seat now held by the conservative Frank Lausche (D.-Ohio).

The convention changed the AFL-CIO state constitution to give King more political and legislative leeway to aid his candidacy. King's associates in Toledo, reports Haskell Short of the Columbus, Ohio, *Dispatch*, have made no bones about desiring to see him in the Senate. They talk openly of King's challenging Lausche, whose term is up in 1968. Lausche may not run, but that won't stop King's candidacy, say the labor boys.

With King's plans fairly well known, speakers at the convention trained their fire at Lausche. The convention, it was learned, also intends to raise dues to finance expanded political activity for the purpose of capturing Lausche's seat. The hope of big labor in Ohio, it is said, is to turn the Buckeye State into "another Michigan."

Truth in Packaging

Sen. Philip Hart (D.-Mich.), who promoted "truth-in-packaging" legislation as much to aid the cherry growers in Michigan as he did to aid the consumer, won a partial victory last week as the Senate passed a watered-down version of his original bill. (Hart, in campaigning for this legislation, had called for the Food and Drug Administration to compel food manufacturers to put more cherries in cherry pies. Michigan produces 60 per cent of the nation's cherry crop.)

The measure now goes to the House, where hearings are expected to be scheduled shortly by the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee.

The bill covers nearly all food, drugs and other packaged household supplies that are ordinarily sold in supermarkets. Meat is an exception. The bill reflects the author's strange fetish for federal regulation.

Under the bill, the federal government will be able to issue and enforce standard definitions of "small," "medium" and "large." It will also be able to regulate the definition of "serving" and is empowered to regu-

Sen. Hart compares packages of cherry pies.

late the use of "cents-off" sales. No longer can food manufacturers use pounds and ounces together to designate the net weight of a package. The packaged contents must be stated in *either* pounds or ounces.

The federal government is also authorized to reduce the number of different-size packages in which some products are marketed.

Sen. Roman Hruska (R.-Neb.), noting that the federal government could ban certain sized packages, lambasted the bill as a measure which produces higher costs to the consumer. "A producer who has over many years built up public acceptance for a particular sized container may be forced to discontinue that size container. . . . His past efforts in gaining public acceptance will go for nought. More important, his expenses necessitated for a radical change may drive him out of business. If he can make the change, his added costs must be passed along to the consumer in the form of higher prices."

An amendment by Sen. Norris Cotton (R.-N. H.) to delete a provision in the bill giving government administrators authority to limit the number of sizes and weights by which competing products can be packaged was defeated 53 to 32 (See page 15 for rollcall.)

Demo Troubles in Farm Belt

The Democratic Administration is in deep trouble in the Midwest because of statements by agricultural officials. Gov. Harold E. Hughes of Iowa, for example, has admitted that recent "unfortunate statements" by Johnson officials "might hurt Democratic prospects in this year's elections in Iowa.

"There is an extreme negative factor on the Iowa political scene" because of them, said Hughes.

The governor—largest Democratic vote-getter in Iowa history—referred to a recent Pentagon order to cut back pork purchases and to a statement attributed to Agriculture Secretary Freeman expressing "pleasure" at a dip in food prices.

Asked what effect the statements and actions by the Administration would have on Democratic chances in the fall election in Iowa, Hughes said: "We're the majority party in Iowa. I can't see that it will help us in the election." Democrats now control both houses of the state legislature and all elective state offices for the first time since the 1930s. Five newly elected Democratic congressmen will also be up for re-election in the fall.

Comeback for Left-Wing Unions

The United Electrical Workers, kicked out of the CIO 17 years ago as being Communist-dominated, is making a comeback, according to labor experts. The chief reason: the United States Supreme Court.

The high court gave the UEW a boost when it struck down a Taft-Hartley Act requirement that union officials must sign non-Communist affidavits to receive the services of the National Labor Relations Board.

The 11 unions expelled by the old CIO in 1949 for being Red-dominated were hit hard by the affidavit requirement, with most of them dwindling in influence and new unions forming to replace the old ones. The UEW itself was struck a body blow and lost thousands of members to the competing International Union of Electrical Workers (IUEW) as well as the industrial division of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW).

Since the scrapping of the non-Communist affidavit, however, the UEW has been making a solid comeback, with membership recently soaring to 163,000 members in 140 local unions.

The UEW has now launched one of its most ambitious efforts to date in its comeback campaign: an attempt to raid the IBEW, which has more than 4,000 employes at the Western Electric telephone equipment plant in Columbia, Ohio. The UEW, say insiders, is shooting the works in this campaign because a victory in conservative Columbus and in Western Electric would add enormous prestige to the union.

Notes the labor publication, *Weekly Labor Forecast and Review*: "The IBEW and the AFL-CIO are well aware of the implications of a UEW victory at the big Western Electric plant and are girding themselves for an all-out battle to prevent the takeover. The result would be one of the bitterest jurisdictional fights in labor history.

"One of the IBEW's strongest talking points in the battle is expected to be the fact that the UEW is still run by the same officials who were in command when it was booted out of the CIO 17 years ago. These include Albert J. Fitzgerald, international president, and James J. Matles, secretary-treasurer."

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Many Democratic Congressmen Are Furious Over Poverty 'Bungling' in Their Districts

From the Allen-Scott Report

Democratic congressmen, increasingly worried over uncertain prospects, are wrangling angrily with anti-poverty Director Sargent Shriver over spending projects in their districts.

Foremost among their irate complaints is failure to consult them, and the approving of projects politically harmful to the legislators.

This backstage furor presents the Administration with a thorny problem. The new $1.7-billion anti-poverty authorization bill approved by the House Labor Committee is awaiting consideration by the full House. A sizable Democratic defection could seriously affect the fate of the controversial "Great Society" measure.

It is already under heavy attack by Republicans and Southerners.

Shriver is attempting to placate the aggrieved Democratic congressmen with assurances they will be consulted and their views given due consideration in acting on projects. It remains to be seen whether these belated conciliatory moves ease the sharply strained relations.

The lawmakers want outright veto power over all projects in their districts.

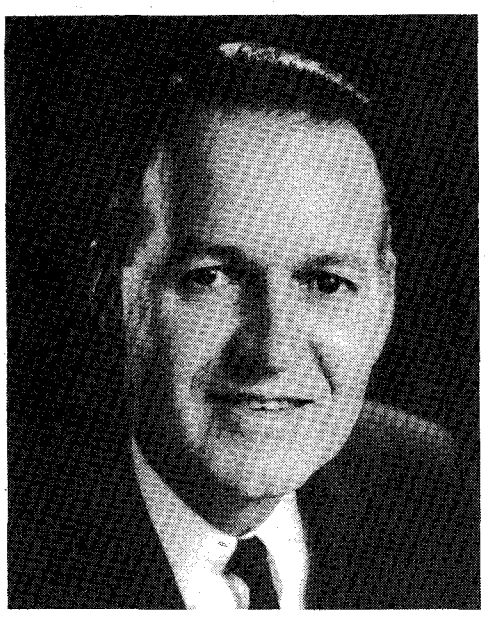
So far, Shriver has held out against that. He argues his compromise constitutes a veto in effect. Most of the congressmen don't see it that way, and some are talking of taking the seething dispute direct to President Johnson.

Also being discussed is raising the issue at a Democratic caucus for the purpose of directing the top party leaders to lay the matter before the President.

Graphically illustrative of this explosive backstage situation is the stormy clash between Shriver and California's Democratic congressmen.

Sixteen of the 23 legislators met with him for more than an hour and a half, and they minced no words in assailing his agency's selection and handling of projects in their districts. Denunciations ranged from "high-handed" and "bungling" to "a mess" and "political liability."

"I would like to be a Republican running for Congress this year," barked one outraged legislator. "I would run on only one issue—opposition to the anti-poverty program and the sorry way it's being administered. I voted for this program and consider myself a friend. But the plain facts are it is a mess. I have learned that painfully from what has been happening in my district.



Left-wing congressmen Jeffery Cohelan, left, and Lionel Van Deerlin, both California Democrats, have election-year jitters about Shriver's errors.

"I am the guy who gets the brickbats when things go wrong, but I never know about them until they go sour. I am never consulted on projects; I don't even know about them. On one a mayor finally told me about it after he tried to stop it and was getting nowhere. It probably would have been approved if he hadn't tipped me off and I began to raise hell.

"That is what I am demanding—a voice in determining projects before decisions are made, and not afterwards when the fat is in the fire. And I am going to get that say-so, or there may not be another anti-poverty program."

Other members of the California delegation were equally irate — and threatening.

"We are the ones who get the heat and not you," one told Shriver. "It is coming from all sides—Republicans, city and county officials, school people, labor, unemployed, social workers. They are up in arms about various complaints, and most of the time I don't know anything about them, although I get the blame. This working at cross purposes has got to stop. It is hurting us politically, and I don't have to tell you this is an election year."

Among a list of proposed anti-poverty projects hotly challenged by the Californians were the following:

- $800,000 to the University of California for a police study.
- $267,000 to the National Farm Workers Association, which has been waging a long and bitter strike.
- $90,000 for a community action program that would be directed by an active supporter of a Republican opponent of the incumbent Democratic congressman.

Vigorously outspoken at the conference with Shriver were Representatives Jeffery Cohelan, Harlan Hagen and Lionel Van Deerlin. Cohelan, an eight-year veteran of the House and a member of the powerful Appropriations Committee, is having a tough primary fight against a young "New Left" anti-Viet Nam opponent.

While refusing to yield to the legislators' demand for a veto over projects in their districts, Shriver offered to consult them before decisions are made.

"From now on," the anti-poverty chief said, "I will see to it that you are kept fully informed about all projects originating in your areas. That will enable you to submit your views and comments, which will be given full consideration in acting on applications. To further this arrangement between us, I will take steps to establish closer liaison between you and the regional office in charge of proposals from your districts. I assure you we want to be helpful and cooperative, and I believe this is the most effective way to do it."

"Maybe it is for you," snapped one lawmaker, "but it remains to be seen whether it works out that way for us. I tell you frankly, I am not satisfied."

The session closed on that discordant note. From the way some of the wrathful Californians are talking, the next round in this backstage row may take place in the White House—with equally dissatisfied legislators from other states airing their grievances against Shriver.

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Why Change CIA Surveillance?

From the Omaha *Evening World-Herald*

Perhaps it started with Nathan Hale. Ever since the British hanged him, Americans have had some odd notions about the spy. They cherish noble words uttered for posterity, but overlook the spy's more vital requirement, anonymity. Had Nathan Hale been a better spy, he wouldn't have become such a hero. Had he been less a hero, however, he would have been no less a patriot.

Espionage is a sneaky, dirty business. Americans regard it with repugnance, even when they realize this nation must indulge in it for reasons of national security. A democratic nation finds the conduct of espionage particularly difficult because the people's right to know so often clashes with the nation's need for secrecy. In an attempt to achieve a balance, Congress maintains a small watchdog committee to keep an eye on the Central Intelligence Agency. Sen. Richard B. Russell (D.-Ga.) heads this group.

Now the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, with Sen. J. W. Fulbright (D.-Ark.) as chairman, wants three of its members on the CIA watchdog committee. Sen. Russell fears this might endanger CIA security. He has a point.

Every time another person knows who a spy is and what he does, the risk of exposure increases. Besides, as Sen. Frank Lausche (D.-Ohio) remarked the other day, "the Senate Foreign Relations Committee has distinguished itself by the number of leaks it has permitted."

Mr. Fulbright & Co. are better known for voicing opinions than for keeping secrets. The President and the congressional watchdog committee should be able to maintain control over the CIA without the aid of three more senators.

It is inspiring to remember Nathan Hale as a hero. But it is also worth considering that, had his anonymity remained intact, one life might have given even greater service to this country.

□ □ □

LEARNING THE HARD WAY—Who says Sargent Shriver doesn't know anything about poverty? Just the other day he had to pass up a summer home on Cape Cod costing $500,000 and settle for one costing only $250,000.

□ □ □

NEW INDEX—What with the high-spending policies of the "Great Society" perhaps we need a Cost of Inflation Index.

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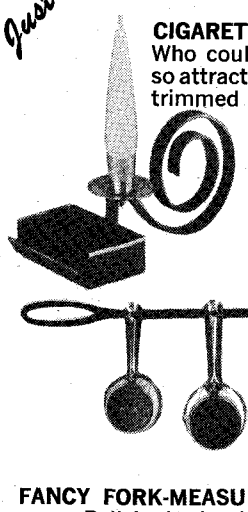

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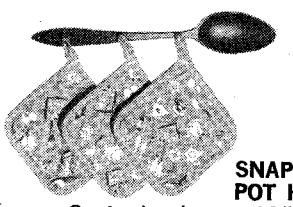

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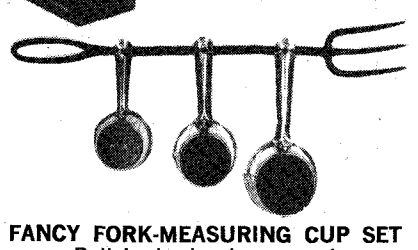

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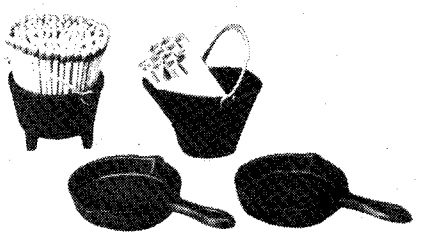

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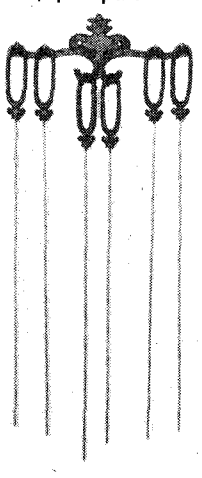

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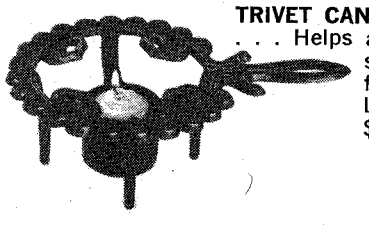

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Individual Effort: The Only Cure for Poverty

A proliferation of bureaucratic social agencies and eager-beaver crusaders will only make the problem worse.

By WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN in *The Freeman*

The subject of poverty, individual and national, is receiving a good deal of attention and discussion. Large sums are being appropriated for a so-called crusade against poverty in "underprivileged" city and rural areas. And it is a current intellectual fad to suggest that there is danger of war, or some other kind of unpleasant explosion, in the wide gap in living standards between the relatively prosperous nations of North America and Western Europe and the poorer countries of Asia, Africa and South America.

There has been a plethora of proposals for "sharing the wealth" nationally as well as internationally. And a fair start has been made in this direction by the graduated income tax and other devices of pillaging the thrifty for the benefit of the thriftless and by setting up an unprecedented system of peacetime subsidies from the United States and various European countries to the needy states of the world.

But the poor are still with us at home; the campaigns in the loudly advertised war against poverty often seem to break down in an atmosphere of squabbling over who gets what when, and charges of misappropriation of funds.

In the case of the HARYOU organization in Harlem, the argument in reply to these accusations was that lots of money had to be spent fast as a kind of payment of blackmail to disorderly characters not to engage in riot, arson and pillage. It might be noted that, according to all experience, paying blackmail in this fashion does not purchase permanent immunity from violence. For the blackmailer always comes back.

Nor has foreign aid, extended by the United States and other countries, proved a panacea for most of the newly independent states. Such countries as Indonesia, Algeria and the Congo are conspicuously worse off than they were under Dutch, French and Belgian administrations; and this is true as regards a number of other fledgling states.

The prediction of war unless, in some miraculous way, the poorer countries of the world are raised to the economic level of the more prosperous is not impressive or convincing.

There was a time when hordes of barbarians could overrun much more civilized empires, if the latter had gone soft and neglected their defenses. But in the 20th Century only a nation sufficiently developed economically to produce modern nuclear and other sophisticated weapons could start a war against a nuclear "have" power without inviting devastation to the point of annihilation.

Poverty is Relative

The big wars of modern times have been fought between states with maturely developed economies. The days of sudden irruptions of hosts of unknown barbarians, often fleeing from the pressure of still more formidable barbarian forces, are over.

In order to see the problem of poverty and its cure or alleviation in perspective, several points must be borne in mind.

First, poverty is relative. A family that would be considered poor in the United States would be the envy of most families in India, Albania, Chad or Upper Volta.

John Steinbeck's novel, *The Grapes of Wrath*, was a bitter indictment of the depression suffering that drove many tenant farmers in Oklahoma to migrate to California—where, incidentally, most of them found new opportunities and got along quite well.

Yet when a film based on this novel was shown in the Soviet Union, its propaganda value misfired. Where did these people, if they were so poor and miserable, get their automobiles, was one question that occurred to Soviet audiences. How could they move without permission of the authorities? How could they be wearing such good shoes? There was this same element of relativity when Red Army peasant soldiers, breaking into working-class quarters in Vienna, could not believe that workers lived in apartments with individual baths and kitchens.

I was in the United States at the height of the depression in the winter of 1932-33. An old acquaintance in Milwaukee, connected with the relief organization there, gave me a list of groceries supplied to persons on relief. I took the list back to Russia with me and showed it to a non-Communist Soviet friend. He could hardly believe his eyes.

"There isn't an employed worker in Russia who could count on a diet like this," he said. "Even highly placed party and Soviet officials would be happy if they could count on a regular allotment of oranges and other food items on this list, some of which we haven't seen for years."

Second, no matter how high a country may raise its standard of living, there will always be a bottom tenth, or fifth, or third, whatever fractional measurement is chosen, of the people who will be less well off than others.

This is partly a matter of misfortune in the case of those who are physically or mentally handicapped, partly a matter of comparative intelligence and aptitude in acquiring skills, partly a matter of willingness to work. This last element becomes especially important in keeping people on the unemployment rolls and in the general classification of poverty when federal and state relief programs become so generous that there is little incentive to perform the jobs which are lowest in economic value and reumuneration.

Socialism Not Answer

Moreover, a certain number of people will always, of their own volition, withdraw from the competitive world. In some cases this may be for high motives, as when a writer, an artist, a musician, a scientist is willing to live on a subsistence minimum while he devotes himself to literary, artistic, or scientific creation and experimentation.

More frequently the cause is temperamental aversion to or incapacity for steady work. So, under any economic system, some people will have less earning capacity and live in poorer houses, wear cheaper clothes, eat less luxurious food than others; although the average standard of living in some countries will be much higher than it is in others.

If one desires a convincing practical illustration of the futility of trying to establish a society based on complete equality of compensation for all its members, one need only look at the contrast between the Soviet Union, as it was in the first years of the Communist revolution and as it is today.

There was no means of forethought by which a man of thrift and property could have insured himself against the consequences of the wave of nationalization, confiscation and robberization that swept over Russia as Lenin and his followers seized and consolidated their power.

The factory owners, the factory stockholders were expropriated. The banks and their assets were nationalized. The owner of a house was lucky if he could stay on in the basement after the local Soviet had taken over the dwelling and assigned the more desirable rooms to deserving comrades. All land was taken over by the state and parceled out to the peasants on the basis of the size of their families.

The individual who preferred to hide his money savings in a sock found himself with only wastepaper as the value of the ruble dwindled to zero. Perhaps the first challenge to the wild-eyed egalitarianism of the time—and equality, incidentally, of hunger, cold and general misery—was that of the famous singer, Chaliapin, unforgettable in the roles of Boris Godunov and Mephistopheles.

It was decreed that all the personnel in the state opera, from leading singers to stagehands, should receive the same scanty ration. Chaliapin, a husky peasant with an enormous appetite, balked and carried out a one-man strike with conspicuous success. "Very well," he said, "I worked at manual jobs before I became a singer. I will be a stagehand now." And the authorities, anxious at least to give the public some entertainment, gave in and winked at Chaliapin's receiving a substantial individual ration, so long as he would continue to sing.

New Differentials

But after this initial sweeping universal impoverishment, a whole new system of differential wages and salaries grew up. In the beginning members of the ruling Communist party, as a means of preserving their idealism, were required to accept only a skilled worker's pay, regardless of the importance of the post they might occupy. This rule has long been discarded and today, ironically enough, membership in the Communist party is one of the surest roads to wealth, provided the holder of the party card possesses enough ability and ingenuity to climb to the top of the political and economic ladder.

Visitors to Moscow are often strongly impressed by the tremendous spread in standards of living between the privileged class at the top in Russia today and the masses of workers, peasants and employes. This is reflected in such perquisites of membership in the Soviet elite as chauffeur-driven cars, expensive apartments with luxurious furnishings, country homes, ability to patronize expensive restaurants—all things far beyond the dreams of the ordinary citizen.

The Soviet experiment, and the Chinese, offer convincing proof that there is no cure for poverty in wholesale expropriation and spoliation. This may temporarily produce equality of a sort, but only equality of extreme privation and misery.

As soon as economic life begins to revive, new favored classes begin to appear, and new inequalities. This process is as inescapable as the working of some law of natural science. The necessity—not of poverty in its more extreme and squalid forms, which tend to abate or disappear in more prosperous societies, but of inequality as a condition of human progress—is forcefully put by one of America's most powerful conservative political thinkers, John C. Calhoun, in his *Disquisition on Government*:

"Now, as individuals differ greatly from each other, in intelligence, sagacity, energy, perseverance, skill, habits of industry and economy, physical power, position and opportunity, the necessary effect of leaving all free to exert themselves to better their condition, must be a corresponding inequality between those who may possess these qualities and advantages in a high degree and those who may be deficient in them.

"The only means by which this result can be prevented are either to impose such restrictions on the exertions of those who may possess them in a high

(Continued on opposite page)

Resorting to violence and rioting is certain to make a poor person less employable in the future.

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degree as will place them on a level with those who do not, or to deprive them of the fruits of their exertions. But to impose such restrictions on them would be destructive of liberty, while to deprive them of the fruits of their exertions would be to destroy the desire of bettering their condition.

"It is indeed this inequality of condition between the front and rear ranks, in the march of progress, which gives so strong an impulse to the former to maintain their position, and to the latter to press forward into their files. This gives to progress its greatest impulse. To force the front rank back to the rear, or attempt to push forward the rear into line with the front, by the interposition of the government, would put an end to the impulse and effectually arrest the march of progress."

These wise reflections should be borne in mind when it is lightly assumed that large appropriations of government funds will end poverty at home or that big enough government-to-government handouts will end poverty among nations.

Among all the factors promoting human progress toward higher living standards, perhaps the most dynamic is competition. And the existence of a fairly competitive society is the best guaranty against extreme poverty that has yet been discovered. (There was a good deal of homely truth in the sticker which figured in a recent political campaign: "I Fight Poverty. I Work.")

Personal Ambition

The only hopeful real cure for poverty is not a proliferation of bureaucratic social agencies and eager-beaver crusaders. It is the kindling of the vital spark of personal ambition in the hearts of those whose poverty is not the result of causes beyond their control. How to kindle this spark is not a simple or easy problem. But surely one of the most hopeful means is to hold out the prospect that the man who is poor today may be well-to-do or even rich in the future. And it is only in a fluid, competitive society that this prospect becomes a reality.

There is much truth in Macaulay's formula for continued economic progress, which may be summed up as follows:

"Leave capital to find its most lucrative course, commodities their fair price, industry and intelligence their natural reward, idleness and folly their natural punishment, by maintaining peace, by defending property and by observing strict economy in every department of the state. Let the government do this and the people will assuredly do the rest."

The only effective cure for individual poverty is individual effort. The best stimulus to this effort is the constant spectacle of what other individuals, no more favored by early surroundings and circumstances, have been able to achieve by their own efforts. Handouts are of non-permanent value.

Still less is any benefit to be expected from resort to violence and rioting. Imagine what impression a rioter would make on a prospective employer by offering as a job recommendation some such statement as this: "I took part in looting four stores and burning six others."

With nations as with individuals, there is no short magic road from destitution to affluence. No one owes the more indigent areas of the world a living, although one would never suspect this from the yeasty oratory that is popular in some quarters. Asians, Africans, South Americans must work for their living like everyone else. How quickly and successfully these economically retarded areas of the world will achieve their goals of better schools and roads, more food and clothing and other good things of life depends mainly on the policies which their governments pursue.

Unfortunately, these policies have not always been marked by wisdom. All developing lands need capital; but the new governments often frighten away foreign investment by hostile and confiscatory measures. Foreign aid, when it is given, is often frittered away in mistaken projects of state planning.

Some years ago a distinguished Indian member of the Mt. Pelerin Society—an organization committed to the ideal of integral liberty, with economic liberty as its base—after pointing out many examples of misapplication of American aid by Indian state planners, drew a round of applause when he announced his conclusion: "What India needs is not dollars, but the spirit of the Mt. Pelerin Society."

For nations, as for individuals, the cure for poverty is intelligently directed individual effort, free from the blunders and distortions of state direction.

RFK Tackles the Machines

By VICTOR RIESEL

Look not to Africa for the big game Bob Kennedy hunts. What he seeks is nowhere on the black continent. It is rather in the asphalt jungles of the big cities. For now Sen. Kennedy is stalking tiger—Tammany's and Richard Daley's.

He and those who have talked to him in rare private moments are aware that no New Yorker (and he is that now), ever has become President without fighting Tammany Hall at home and the big city machines across the land.

It is on the political logistics chart. The people expect it.

***His* chance in New York was not ready-made, but was made ready by liberal-labor leader Alex Rose, the two-hatted hatters' union chief. Together they are battling Tammany's choice for a surrogate benchship which handles hundreds of millions of dollars annually in probated wills.**

That will be a clangorous, headlined battle. Basically "Bob" will not be hurt by defeat.

When in a recent tete-a-tete Mr. Kennedy asked Alex Rose, ambulatory essence of laborite politics: "What if we lose?" union president Rose retorted: "Win or lose, you can't lose if you fight the machine. The people will say you're doing the right thing."

Apparently this has impressed the Kennedy camp. It is gunning for the machine, too, here in Chicago, the city of the big wind. It is challenging Mayor Richard Daley's absolute power. And again the Kennedy people are in coalition with liberal-labor forces.

The site of battle is the grim south side 2nd Congressional District, stretching across part or all of the 4th to the 10th Wards (excluding Ward 6).

There, young Abner J. Mikva, former law partner of former labor lawyer Arthur J. Goldberg, is challenging the grand old man of Chicago politics, Congressman Barratt O'Hara.

The challenger is 40 years old. The incumbent, now 84, hit the beaches in Cuba three days after Theodore Roosevelt and the Rough Riders.

Rep. O'Hara, an old newsman and labor radio broadcaster, even veteran movie executive of D.W. Griffith days, is the oldest man in the House. For decades he has been close to the AFL leaders and a good friend of Mayor Daley.

As far as labor recollects, O'Hara has voted right all the way down the line. So he has the full endorsement of the Committee on Political Education (COPE).

But now comes young Mikva to fight him in the June 14 primaries for the Democratic nomination. And with Mr. Mikva came a split in labor's ranks. A bloc of unionists, led by friends of Walter Reuther and Bob Kennedy, has broken with COPE, though it is the official political mechanism of the American labor movement.

Backing the contender is AFL-CIO Vice President Ralph Helstein, president of the packing house workers, who was put on labor's high council only after Mr. Reuther fought for him.

Mr. Mikva is an intellectual with quite a coterie of young lawyers and champions among Washington's intelligentsia. They have been breaking him into capital society through the cocktail route. Mr. Mikva, an intense fellow, is "Kennedy" all the way, except in hair-do. The Chicagoan has what the youngsters call a modified "butch" haircut.

He's bright. He works hard. So do his militant assistants and supporters, some of whom are transplanted New Yorkers.

To the sophisticated observer here in Chicago, the national significance is in the Mikva movement's fight against the Daley machine—for to battle Rep. O'Hara is to fight Daley and Lyndon Johnson, too. The President is fond of O'Hara and appointed him a delegate to the 20th session of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

Thus with characteristic Kennedy daring, the senator from New York has taken on many veteran machines. Not only is he bucking the powerful Tammany machine in New York and the traditionally unbeatable Daley juggernaut in Chicago, but Robert Kennedy also is tackling the old-line labor leaders in both cities.

They are lining up behind the official Democratic candidate in both megalopolises. They are putting out money and manpower. They may even beat Bob Kennedy and his men in both sectors.

But the senator will have made his point. He will have plunged into gut politics in the open, alongside the militant liberals of the labor movement—Alex Rose, Walter Reuther, Ralph Helstein and the official reform blocs of the streets of both cities where the intellectuals gather.

Thus we have the making of the newest of the new Bob Kennedy.

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You should either
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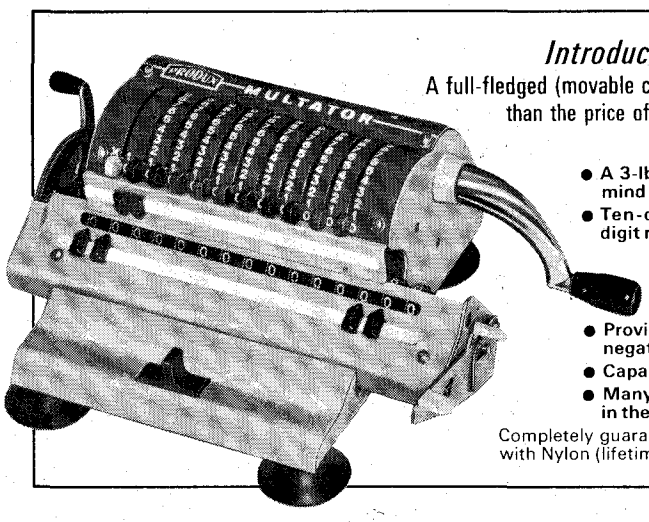
or
buy this $89 German machine.



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*What is automatic re-entry? To take a simple example, suppose you want to figure 3x4x5x6. Except on the most expensive calculators, you would have to remember and then re-enter manually the results of the first two calculations to reach the final answer. That's how mistakes happen. But not with the MULTATOR-4. Re-entry is automatic, so the whole calculation is performed in one continuous operation. *You memorize nothing. Re-enter nothing.* The MULTATOR-4 does it all for you. Automatically.

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North Viet Nam Steps Up Air Defenses

From the Allen-Scott Report

North Viet Nam is installing ground-to-air missiles and anti-aircraft guns several times as fast as the United States is destroying them.

This ominous development highlights the latest intelligence reports now being studied by Pentagon chiefs.

The alarming estimates of Hanoi's growing air defense capabilities warn that despite intensified U.S. air attacks there are now more than 300 Soviet SA-2 missile sites and 36,000 anti-aircraft guns in North Viet Nam.

In the past 18 months Navy and Air Force pilots have claimed destruction of approximately one-third the number of these missiles and anti-aircraft guns.

An estimated 260,000 North Vietnamese, or nearly the same number of U.S. troops in South Viet Nam, now man these bristling air defenses, including an extensive radar warning system.

Between 7,000 and 9,000 Russian, Red Chinese and Eastern European technicians are assisting the North Vietnamese. An undetermined number of Cubans trained by the Soviet in use of the SAM missiles have just arrived in Hanoi.

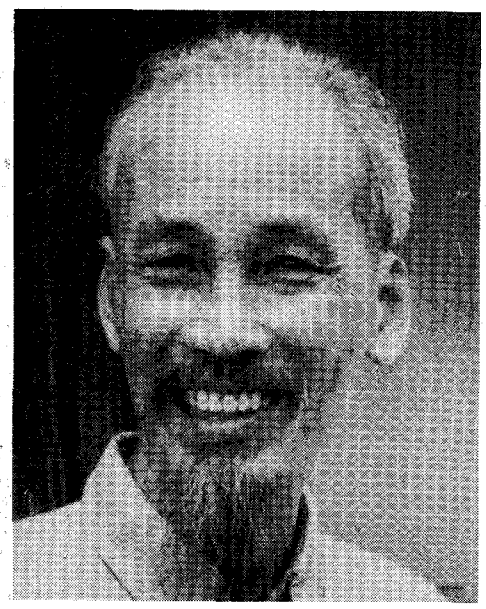
Low-level reconnaissance photographs taken in recent weeks reveal that as many as 300 to 400 anti-aircraft batteries and up to several dozen ground-to-air missiles ring major "military targets" in the Hanoi-Haiphong complex.

These greatly expanded Communist air defenses, which are costing the United States an average of one plane a day, are being extended into the northwest section of South Viet Nam that is under Viet Cong control.

Two regular North Viet Nam anti-aircraft battalions have been identified in this area for the first time. This information came from two North Vietnamese officers captured in recent search-and-destroy operations in the First Corps sector.

The Reds' highly mobile guns, with their own portable radar, are described as the most modern anti-aircraft weapons produced by Russia and Czechoslovakia.

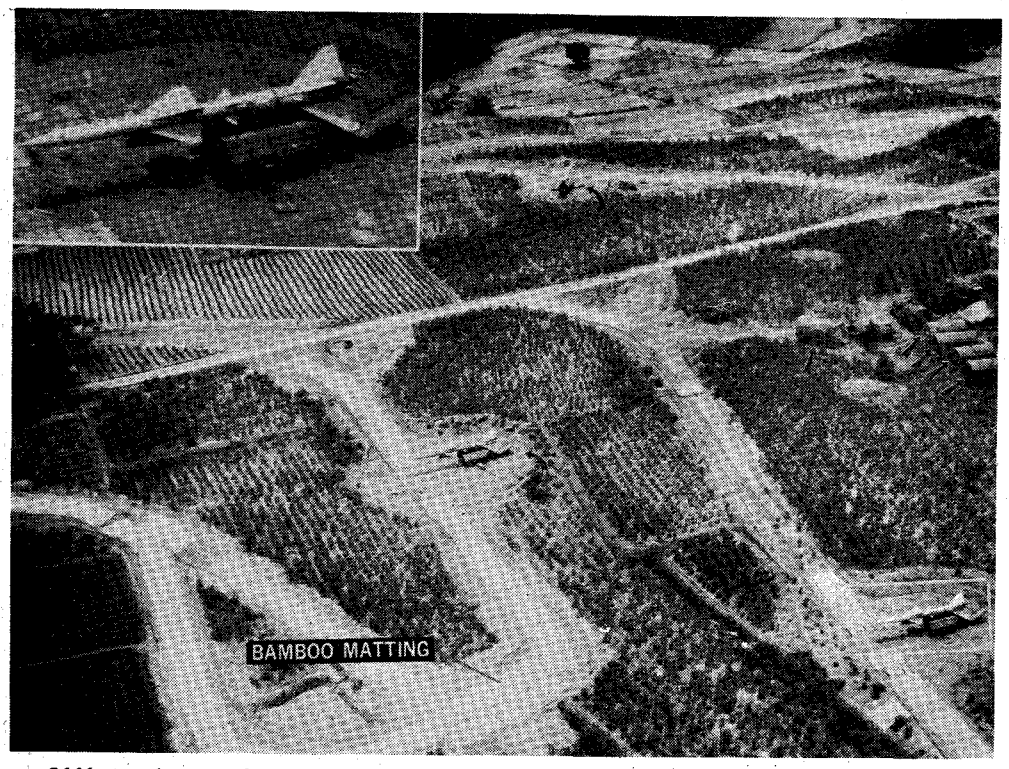
Shipped to Haiphong aboard Soviet bloc ships, the guns are airlifted in crates by large Russian helicopters to advance



Ho Chi Minh has pledged to fight as long as necessary. He has the help of between 7,000 to 9,000 Russian, Chinese and East European "advisers" stationed in North Viet Nam.

Communist bases in Laos. From Laos, the guns are hand carried across the border and assembled in South Viet Nam.

At present, the Communists have no known ground-to-air missiles in South Viet Nam. A number of SAM sites are in operation in the southern part of North Viet Nam near the demilitarized zone.



SAM (surface-to-air missile) sites in North Viet Nam are being beefed up by the Russians. These missiles arrive by way of Haiphong, which is still unmined and unblockaded. The United States has lost 250 planes over North Viet Nam to date.

The huge helicopters, which first appeared in North Viet Nam last month, anti-aircraft guns, missiles and radar are arriving in increasing numbers via a massive Soviet sea and air lift involving several hundred ships and cargo planes.

Russian freighters from the Black Sea port of Odessa are passing through the Suez Canal with cargoes openly declared for Haiphong at the rate of slightly more than one a day.

This flow of 30 to 35 ships a month compares with 18 to 20 via Suez at the beginning of the year. In its surveillance of these ships, the Navy reports that the Soviet bloc vessels, after unloading at Haiphong, go to Vladivostok. There they take on new loads of military supplies and return to North Viet Nam.

U.S. air strikes against Red rail lines and highways, while slowing down deliveries from Haiphong, have not stopped the growing flood of shipments.

The huge Soviet helicopters in recent weeks have actually speeded up the delivery of anti-aircraft guns and missiles to operational sites.

Gen. Westmoreland, concerned about mounting U.S. air losses, is seeking White House approval to mine or bomb Haiphong harbor. When Pennsylvania's Gov. William Scranton visited Westmoreland's headquarters recently, the Army commander urged him to use his influence to induce President Johnson to authorize such an assault.

With the major rail routes from China being cut daily by air strikes, Gen. Westmoreland estimates that 80 per cent of North Viet Nam's military supplies are now coming through Haiphong, the Reds' largest port. The remainder are transported by truck from China or through the Soviet airlift.

The big increase in Soviet supplies was confirmed by Gen. John McConnell, Air Force chief of staff, when he testifed at a closed-door meeting of the House Armed Services Committee.

"Where Russian aid to North Viet Nam is concerned," he said, "we have seen a considerable increase in the flow of material in selected categories of weapons and supporting equipment during the past year. Most conspicuous has been the Soviet introduction of substantial numbers of SA-2 missiles, thousands of anti-aircraft guns of all calibers, and MIG aircraft. The Soviet has aided the North Viet Nam economy with machinery and certain vital commodities such as petroleum, oil and lubricants."

Gen. McConnell also stressed that Peking is shifting more of its air strength to southern China.

"The Chinese Communists," he declared, "in the northeastern and northwestern parts of North Viet Nam are assisting in the improvement of lines of communication and in air defense measures. The Chinese have also improved their military posture, especially their air power, in south China."

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Bridges or Conduits to the East?

By ALICE WIDENER

The Administration in Washington, D.C., is much disappointed that Congress refused to go along with proposals to "build bridges" to the East European nations by enacting legislation that would permit increased U.S. trade with them.

It seems, however, that instead of building bridges between our country and the satellite nations, such trade would build conduits funneling more of these nations' extorted tributes to their overlord, the Soviet Union.

The terrible extent of Soviet exploitation of its East European satellites was gruesomely symbolized by the suicide of Dr. E. Apel, deputy premier of East Germany and chairman of her planning commission. Dr. Apel killed himself immediately prior to the signing, on Dec. 3, 1965, of the new Soviet-East German trade agreement for 1966-1970. The probable reason for his act is revealed in the recent document, "Prices and the Balance Sheet in 10 Years of Soviet-Captive Countries Trade, 1955-1964," by Estonian foreign trade expert Aleksander Kutt, who analyzed statistics in the Soviet and United Nations yearbooks on international trade and in other official documents. Issued by the Captive Nations Assembly, March 1966, the Kutt study shows:

- In 10 years, Soviet overcharges on exports to seven East-Central European nations amounted to $7.274 billion, and underpayments for imports were $5.499 billion, making a total loss of $12.773 billion to these exploited nations.
- During 1963 and 1964, Soviet overcharges on exports to captive countries averaged respectively 52.3 and 43.2 per cent.
- Western Europe furnished $496 million worth of machinery and equipment to the Soviet Union in 1964; during the same year, six East European captive nations furnished $2.025 *billion* worth of machinery and equipment to the USSR.

In 1964, the Soviet Union made a profit of $1.357 million on $4.498 million of exports to the East-Central European satellites! This is more than an extortionate 33 per cent profit, similar in excessive character to the extortionate 18 per cent interest charged by the Soviet Union on its loan of $3 million to Marxist Kwame Nkrumah for maintenance of his personal bodyguard to impose his thieving dictatorship on Ghana.

In Brussels last month, the president of a group of Belgian steel companies, who had just visited Czechoslovakia, told me the world never has seen more ruthless economic exploitation than that inflicted on the Iron Curtain countries by the Soviet Union. "The Russian Communists buy raw materials, steel and other commodities from the satellite nations at prices way below those of the international market; then they force them to purchase Soviet-manufactured goods and machinery at international market prices."

The Belgian predicted that in the Soviet's Fiat and Renault automobile plant deals, the Russians will extort steel from Czechoslovakia at a price far below that of the world market and then will try to sell Soviet Fiats and Soviet Renaults to Russians and other captive peoples at highest international car prices. Where will the people get the money to buy the cars? That remains to be seen. Certainly the Communist party officials will do as they do now—get the money through self-reward at slave-labor expense.

Development of any mass-consumer purchasing power for cars in Russia and the satellite nations is extremely problematical. It is well known that the biggest economic headaches under the Communist system occur when production quotas are fulfilled.

The Kutt analysis of losses suffered by the captive countries on imports from the Soviet Union goes a long way toward showing why Dr. Apel of East Germany killed himself. "The top money loser [in 1963 and 1964] was East Germany, due to its large imports from the Soviet Union," writes Mr. Kutt. "It [East Germany] lost $438 million in 1963 and $348 million in 1964 . . .; Czechoslovakia, second largest importer from the Soviet Union, lost $596 million on Soviet exports in two years."

A major item in the Soviet-East German trade agreement was the Soviet purchase of 300 East German built seagoing freighters and other craft at 30 per cent less than East Germany could have obtained by selling them elsewhere.

Advocates of increased trade between the United States and nations of East Europe assert that it will build bridges between them and us, and will aid them in trying to move away from the iron Soviet grip. Instead of bridges, it is more likely that such trade would build conduits through which any benefits to the East European nations would flow to the Soviet Union, a nation desperately seeking to bolster its faltering economy.

(U.S.A. Syndicate)

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Maritime Union Wants Free Rent for Members

By VICTOR RIESEL

A seaman's home may have been his forecastle, but today most seamen are family men and live landside. And now comes "Big Joe" Curran, leader of sailors, with a pledge that their National Maritime Union (NMU) will fight to provide them with rent-free housing so long as they are actively going down to the sea.

If NMU President Curran can deliver, he will be the first to weave into solid fabric the gossamer strands of the workingman's dream—free rent.

Mr. Curran, leader of 50,000 ocean-going men, as well as of those who work on rivers and some lakes, plans to make a free-rent fund the major factor of future collective bargaining with the ship owners. In effect, the free-rent money will come from the fleet owners.

This precedent-setting fund, which will accumulate just as do pension and welfare funds, will provide for huge apartment houses in the big cities and single occupancy houses in areas where land is freer.

Thus, in the crowded port cities there will be high risers. In the outer ports, there will be one-family homes. All free.

"The money to carry the program will have to be provided by collective bargaining, of course," says "Big Joe." "This does not mean that all contract gains from now on must be devoted to rent-free housing.

"Wages, pensions, working conditions, etc., are all important and will get due consideration. It is a fact, however, that if we are to achieve rent-free housing for all members, it will have to be a major factor for all bargaining.

"There is no question but that this project should become the major objective of our union."

And, inside labor, "major" objectives of one union are catching. They flare like fevers. So there is impactful significance in Mr. Curran's trade unionese when he says, "We believe it represents a historic new approach to achieving economic and social progress for seamen or any other workers."

Note especially the final three words. Mr. Curran is giving his colleagues in labor's high command something new for which to reach in other major industries.

The National Maritime Union of Joseph Curran will fight for many new benefits, among them rent-free housing while the men are at sea.

"Big Joe" may deal in dreams, but he is no dreamer when it comes to handling millions.

He has it all worked out with banks and investment houses—the same ones which guided the NMU (and the operators) in putting together their $92-million pension fund.

He is no stranger to home building. Already the fund is providing $14 million for the construction of skyscraper apartment dwellings for seamen and their families in New York, New Orleans, Chicago and San Francisco. These are the abodes of the pre-rent-free era.

The new price-less apartments are of the near future. As Mr. Curran sees it, the actual cash for the rent-frees will come from the $92-million fund. The money will be advanced in the form of mortgages, etc. This will be repaid, with interest from the fund, which will be built up as a result of future contract negotiations.

"Big Joe," who conceived the plan, has details well worked out. However, he's a cagey one. To disclose them now would be to tip his hand in future bargaining. But the principle would be to ask the owners to pay certain amounts per sailor per hour or week into a new pool of cash. By no means would this preclude increasing wages, pensions, hospitalization benefits, etc.

Ship operators aren't exactly enthusiastic about all this. But neither are they enraged. There is method in their lack of madness and in Mr. Curran's rent-free scheme.

The homes and apartments will be provided, under Mr. Curran's proposal, only to active seamen. There is no talk of retirees.

Thus there will be an incentive to the sailor to stick to the "mast." He is less apt to drift. He is not as likely to decide to stay ashore with a job in skill-hungry industries.

Fact is, the men have been drifting inland. They are not easily replaced. Teen-agers of today see little romance in the sea. It is a jet age, and it takes little money to become part of a "poor man's" jet set.

There are no statistics yet on costs of some 50,000 high-rise or garden homes. In addition to the original investment of tens of millions of dollars, there is the matter of constant maintenance—not only money for heat and repairs and janitorial services, but for all sorts of taxes.

There is much to be worked out. There will be considerable table pounding.

But knowing "Big Joe" Curran, the NMU's sailors soon will have their rent-free landside fo'csle ("forecastle," to you landlubbers).

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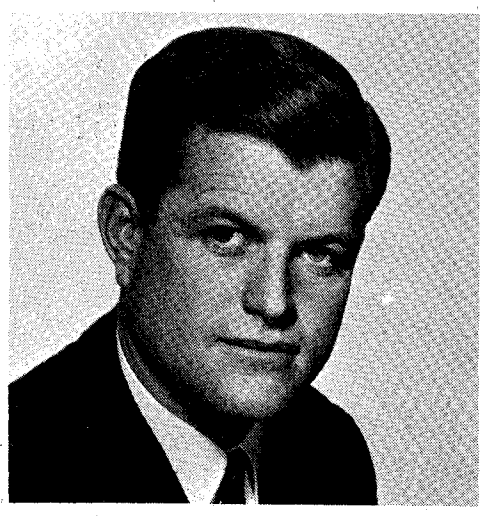
New Immigration Laws Working as Expected

From the Richmond *News Leader*

Latest statistics show that the new Immigration Act is working well—so well, in fact, that Administration liberals are beginning to scream they have been duped. Under the new tight, but humanitarian, controls, the regular flow of immigrants has been cut drastically. But in addition, thousands of families have been reunited.

Yet if the liberals have been duped, they have duped themselves. When the law was passed last year, the sponsors, led by Ted Kennedy and Emanuel Celler, boasted that they had slain the dragon of prejudice and discrimination and opened the gate wide to everybody. Such talk was mere empty politicking.

The old McCarran Act had long since ceased to have the effective controls desired by most fair-minded Americans.



Sen. Edward Kennedy (D.-Mass.) was a sponsor of the new legislation.

Kennedy and Celler then attempted to throw immigration under discretionary political authority, but in the end they were forced to accept a law that was intended to be far more precise and protective than anything the United States had had before.

Time has proved the law effective. Under the old legislation, 80 per cent of the immigrants came in under broad quotas; under the new law, only 25 per cent. The difference is that 25 per cent have to meet high criteria in education and skills; moreover, they have to prove that they are not displacing any American citizen from a job in his particular field. It is an intelligent, selective policy.

On the other hand, the 75 per cent remaining are entering under the privilege of reuniting families; it is a magnanimous gesture by the United States unparalleled by any other country in the world. The Italians and Chinese have particularly benefited by this policy.

Thus far, the over-all total of immigrants under the new law is just about the same as under the old. However, the backlog of prospective immigrants with relatives in the United States will not last more than a year or two. We may soon expect a rapid decline to perhaps one-third the number under the old law. When most families have been reunited, there will be few compelling reasons for admitting immigrants unless they have special skills or are victims of political persecution. There's no reason for the liberals to howl, for the law is working exactly as Congress intended.

Reagan's Calif. Victory Vindicates 1964 Platform

By BARRY GOLDWATER

Ronald Reagan's impressive victory on June 7th for the Republican nomination for California governor, I believe, will turn out to be the first major step in the greatest conservative surge this country has ever seen.

It spells the beginning of the end for the arch-liberal Establishment which is determined to turn the American Republic into a collectivist society. Americans have had all the liberalism they can take. The California primary offered one of the first major opportunities to show their feelings at the polls.

Most people can remember what the liberals said in 1964 about the nation's problems. On the big one, Viet Nam, they were completely wrong. President Johnson has been literally forced to follows the GOP recommendations of 1964, but he got around to them too late to do much good in the "limited" fashion he insisted upon.

The liberal approach to NATO was to do nothing until Charles de Gaulle pulled the rug out from under them. Conservative, moderate and liberal Republicans have been warning about the Atlantic alliance for more than two years. In 1964 we offered specific steps to come to grips with the situation while there was still time.

How right were Reagan and the entire GOP when we pledged a heavy reduction in government spending to head off inflation. But the Democrats, with the help of a few out-of-step Republicans, went in for a huge social welfare program which, big as it was, could not come close to making up to the poverty-stricken and the elderly living on fixed incomes the loss they suffered from the skyrocketing prices of inflation.

The Democrats are in real trouble. They have overspent, overpromised, overlegislated and overestimated in every government category. The result is utter confusion on the economic front and a condition bordering on chaos in the fields of health, education and welfare.

I regard the Reagan victory as indicative of things to come. The way he won over George Christopher will assure him a resounding victory over Democratic Gov. Pat Brown in November, presaging a nationwide GOP victory of major proportions in the congressional elections this year.

Ronnie has been described in the public print as a "Goldwater man" and as a "conservative trying to shed the association with Goldwater." Reagan is nobody's man but his own. A politician who runs on principles, as Reagan and I did, can't be anybody's man. He is firmly committed to fundamentals he believes are proven and good; not for some particular voting group, but for the entire nation.

If Reagan felt it a profitable tactic to move away from Goldwater—assuming his move was to a position he believed in—it was wise. I'm sure everyone will realize, after what he did for me in 1964, I could never bear him any ill will. All I know is, he was billed as a conservative, and he won.

Regardless of how he conducted his campaign, his victory is one more justification of the positions we took in 1964. It may still be a "bad dream" to some GOP liberals, but if our advice had been followed on Viet Nam, NATO, inflation, the draft, crime in the streets and adequate weapons for Viet Nam, this country would be in better shape than it is under that rapidly fading "consensus."

Our crime in 1964 was losing, not in advancing an honest program to fit America's needs. The *tiny* minority of Republican spokesmen who keep harking back to 1964 obviously are proponents of the game of "political expediency." If they were not, they'd reread the 1964 Republican platform and my 1964 speeches to see how they apply to every major problem confronting us today.

Reagan did not commit any crime. He *won*, and he's going to keep on winning because he's right. The people are beginning to wake up to what's right and wrong in U.S. politics.

When Republicans score congressional victories this fall it won't be because John Lindsay was elected New York mayor or because the GOP put up "me-too" candidates or because the party leap-frogged the Democrats and promised more federal spending. It will be because we were *right* in 1964 and the people are only now beginning to understand.

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McNamara Is Mistaken

There Has Been No Connection in Recent Years Between Indigence and Violence Around the World

By EDGAR ANSEL MOWRER

In his speech to the American Society of Newspaper Editors at Montreal, Secretary of Defense McNamara not only revealed his kind heart and computer mind, but exposed a basic error in our foreign policy.

The secretary is a believer in economic determinism of the kind usually attributed to Karl Marx.

Most thinkers consider this totally discredited by events. And to be sure, McNamara is anything but a Marxian.

But he follows Marx in believing that the ubiquitous outbreaks of violence that disgrace our time (in my eyes, not his) are due to economic backwardness.

To demonstrate this, in true McNamarian manner, he adduced the usual wealth of statistics.

"Since 1958," he said, 87 per cent of the very poor nations, 69 per cent of the poor nations and 48 per cent of the middle-income nations have suffered serious violence. Meanwhile only one of the 27 rich nations "has suffered a major internal upheaval on its own territory."

It is when he moves from the familiar field of arithmetic to the still largely unknown field of international politics that our secretary of defense goes astray. For he not only predicts further violence in the poor nations of the southern part of the globe, but adds sententiously:

"This would be true even if no threat of Communist subversion existed."

Here the secretary is over his head. The connection between indigence and violence which he notes has been true only of the period since 1958.

Consider the facts.

The great disorders of the last two centuries occurred among the rich countries.

In 1958, rich France tottered on the edge of a civil war that would have made the troubles in Congo seem like minor squabbles.

It is since 1958 that the Communist giants, aided by little Cuba, Czechoslovakia, etc., have embarked intensively upon a systematic policy of stirring up trouble in the poor nations.

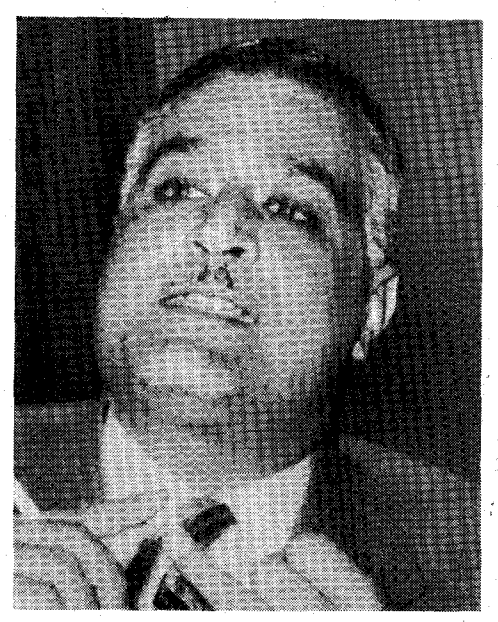
To be sure, they have not been alone.

The revolution of rising expectations has been fostered by international communications media that let the poor see how the rich live, and by thousands of big-hearted reformers within the rich countries who have urged revolt upon the "underprivileged."

Basic too have been the over-sudden grants of independence to unripe peoples and economies.

Nonetheless, the chief credit (or blame) for the violence of the world's poor goes unquestionably to organized and aggressive communism. Were that to disappear overnight, the predicted violence would diminish enormously.

If poverty by itself were the cause of upheaval, then Indians and Chinese would be among the most violent peoples, for they are the hungriest.



Building up dictators like Egypt's Nasser does not increase the world's security.

Yet not content with following his computer into a partial error here, McNamara expounds another half truth. This is that "our security is related directly to the security of the newly developing world." For "security is development."

Yet this too makes sense only so long as revolutionary and militarily strong Communist governments stand ready to give armed assistance (where safe) and arms to the developing nations. Without these the underdeveloped nations could threaten none but each other.

Can anyone believe that in the nuclear age, undeveloped countries could successfully wage war against the 27 nations designated by the world bank as rich?

Or that, living on the verge of starvation, they could economically boycott the 27?

Today only nations with vast nuclear weapons can endanger the security of the United States. And of the 70 poor and very poor nations, only three—China, India and possibly Indonesia—have a limited nuclear capacity.

Regardless of McNamara's statistics, the rich have today less to fear from the poor than ever before—except as the latter are manipulated by Communist propaganda, subversion and violence.

Communism remains the essential enemy of human peace and progress and until we (or God) tame it, we shall have no real security.

This is not an argument for not helping the undeveloped peoples. But for humane and economic, not for political motives, no good can come of the sophistry that by building up Nasser, Nkrumah, Sekou Toure or our other enemies we are increasing the world's security and freedom.

The exact contrary is true.

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Government by Polls Means Emotion Over Thoughtfulness

By HENRY J. TAYLOR

If President Johnson is in a dither about his drop in the popularity polls, as reported, what would you expect? The whole Washington clan is poll-responsive on a scale hardly seen since Pavlov and the laboratory dogs.

Winston Churchill hit this situation square in the eye:

"Nothing is more dangerous than to live in the temperamental atmosphere of polls, always taking one's temperature. . . . There is only one safe course, and that is to try to be right and not fear to do or say what you believe to be right."

We're largely in the hands of poll puppets. It's a sorry enough sight to see their image-testing and their readiness to change a stance with any shift in the winds. But it's high time we woke up to the fact that such poll-dependency also involves the basic decision-making process of our government and took a fresh look at what makes people give the answers they give in polls.

Able Elmo Roper, who is a philosopher as well as a pollster, long ago blew the whistle on the chief reasons people reply as they do.

Roper found that feelings, not thoughts, dominate the replies. He cited case after case where voters' approval or disapproval of a President is clearly the result of emotional reasons, psychological reasons, reasons of personal sympathy or loyalty, and other responses totally unconnected with sober thought.

"The one thing the responses are usually not inspired by is a thoughtful evaluation of presidential policies," says Roper.

The polls' approval of President Eisenhower shot skyward after the disastrous 1955 Paris summit conference with Nikita Khrushchev for no conceivable reason other than the public's natural resentment against Khrushchev's brutal defiance.

President Kennedy's popularity soared in the first week after—*after*—the Bay of Pigs. He never reached, before or after, the high rating he hit in the period of that utter fiasco. In his 1962 "eyeball to eyeball" confrontation with Khrushchev during the Cuban crisis, usually written about as a victory, the late President's popularity was much lower.

Thus, to the extent that polls guide our leaders toward a "consensus," what can government by consensus really mean? It can mean government by emotions. This is a far cry from merely keeping in touch with public opinion by polls.

Playing on emotions and sympathies becomes so politically profitable that one leader after another tries to bypass the rational side of the public. They do not want us to think. In a way, they are making a mockery of the democratic process, which is based on conscious choice on rational grounds.

Government by consensus means reaching decisions without really deciding. Take polls and let the public decide; work out statistical systems, hoping that these will indicate support for one course of action or another. Actually, this is just about what a computer does.

If that's the way we're going to run the United States, why not elect a good computer and be done with it?

In India, former Prime Minister Gulzarilai was famous for his dependence on astrology and palmistry. How much better off are we when our leaders' judgments rely so heavily on polls?

They end up with convictions about as deep as a monkey playing the piano. And our great country ends up paying for numerous policies based on "findings" hardly more substantial than Gulzarilai's mystic charts.

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A GOP Dark Horse for '68

By MORRIE RYSKIND

Ever since November 1964 the truly progressive Republican—the acid test being that he knifed Goldwater—has made it crystal-clear that he aims to remould his party in the image of the Democrats, so that the electorate won't be able to tell Tweedledum from Tweedledee without a scorecard.

In this laudable enterprise he is prepared to accept all the domestic planks of the New Deal, the New Frontier and the "Great Society" as his own, using as his theme song, "Anything You Can Do, I Can Do Better."

The names constantly offered as possible 1968 standard-bearers include all the famous defectors whose valiant stand against Barry in the primaries gave him the nomination on the very first ballot: Lodge, Romney, Rocky and Scranton. Nixon supported the ticket, so he's out with representative groups like the Ripon Society, a papier-mache organization of some 12 eggheads who issue anti-conservative blasts every two years or so and get front-page coverage and the authoritative GOP consensus.

Sen. Kuchel—a card-carrying anti-Goldwaterite—is acting coyly, hoping that the lightning may strike him; Sen. Javits, not so coyly, is suggesting that a new face—his—could fill the first or second spot admirably; and there is talk of Gov. Hatfield, who might have Wayne Morse behind him.

But there's always the chance that a dark horse may sweep the field with one dramatic gesture. And here comes Neil Nordstrom. Gangway!

The name may be unfamiliar to you now, but it won't be for long, I predict. Here is the electrifying dispatch that propelled him into the limelight and may, if he plays his cards right, win him the nomination:

"Dos Palos, Calif. (AP)—The federal government is paying $232 to rent tuxedos and buy dinners for 16 pupils going to Dos Palos High School's junior prom Saturday night. Neil Nordstrom, principal, said, 'These 16 boys are from needy, deprived families. This will be part of their training in etiquette, manners and cultural improvement. This money comes under the Elementary Secondary Education Act; not, as falsely reported, from anti-poverty funds.'"

If that ringing combination of utter cant and breast-beating bathos doesn't go down in history as the perfect example of the spirit of these days, there is no justice.

Only $232, to be sure, but nevertheless it is the "Great Society" at its warm-hearted best. If there remained a scintilla of doubt about the value of federal aid to education, this should settle it for all time.

Why else do we send our children to school if not to learn etiquette and culture which we have no time to teach them? Which is more important, to know the three R's or the way to put studs in a tux?

As one who to this day has not learned to make a bow-tie, I rejoice that this new generation will take that once-perplexing problem in stride. As a matter of fact, I was never inside a tux till I was out of college—and then only because I was best man at a friend's wedding—and there must have been 100,000,000 underprivileged, culturally deprived guys in the same boat.

Compare the readiness with which this brave, new example of educational excellence has been welcomed with what would have happened in the old days.

We'd have had to get some odd jobs delivering packages or mowing a few lawns on Saturdays to earn the necessary $14.50 during the school year. Such stoop labor would have seared our young souls and made us feel inferior.

Or the old-time principal would have met the tragic situation by announcing the hop would be informal. That would be depriving those high school kids—if any—who were accustomed to dressing for dinner every night of their cultural birthright.

How much better this new way, when the youngsters learn early what their country owes them! Next year I trust Mr. Nordstrom will make the government go the whole hog and provide white ties and tails for the gala event.

That's what the men at Valley Forge fought for, wasn't it?

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First Year a Nightmare

Lindsay Must Regret Decision to Run for Mayor

By HOLMES ALEXANDER

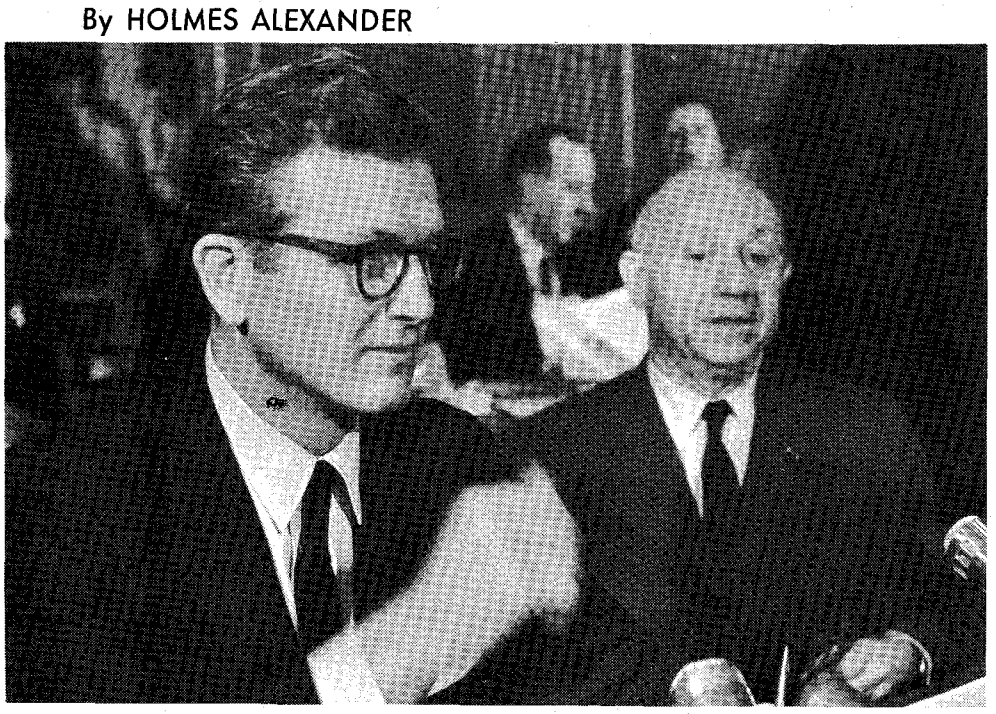
Fenced in behind two popular senators and an ambitious governor, Republican Congressman John Lindsay last year did what he thought best for his career. He took a shot at running for mayor of New York, and the pitch can best be described in upper-case initials—Lindsay was billed as a GOP JFK.

"Everybody is for Lindsay," Noel E. Parmentel Jr., wrote with his needle in *Esquire* for October 1965, a month before election. "All the Right people and most of the Wrong ones. Walter Lippmann and Sammy Davis . . . Dick Nixon and the *Village Voice* . . . Inez Robb and Norman Mailer . . . Madison Avenue . . . Cherry Grove and the Maidstone Club . . . the Rat Pack and the Council on Foreign Relations."

But, alas, poor John. His first six months in office have been like dreaming a nightmare on a bed of thorns. The city Democrats don't care for his lordly ways, and the state Republicans wish he would do his crying on some other shoulder. The mayor, as Barry Goldwater once said of the American poor, "just can't hack it." He's got plenty of ideas, but they all seem to be wrong ones.

It has to be said that this state of affairs was widely anticipated in Washington, where the mayor was well known as a congressman, and where JFK was also well known. One thing about the late President was that he had lots of ideas which did catch on, and he didn't cavil over pride of authorship. The next to last book about John F. Kennedy could be a genealogy of his ideas, more than a few of which were of other than Democratic origin.

As one who took the dire anticipations about Lindsay in some alarm, I filed away some ideas which were put forth in the campaign by Lindsay's Conservative party opponent, Bill Buckley. They now seem pertinent, un-copyrighted and usable, so I draw them



New York Mayor John V. Lindsay testifies at a Senate Banking and Currency subcommittee hearing in Washington, D. C. on housing and mass transportation. With him is Sen. Jacob Javits (R.-N. Y.).

to the mayor's attention.

Juvenile Crime: Not only the names of juvenile offenders ought to be given wide publicity by City Hall, but also the names of their parents. The latter make excellent probation officers when held up to public censure.

The Welfare Program: A one-year residency requirement should be instituted, and welfare recipients should be put to work on neighborhood rehabilitation projects.

The Police Force: City Hall should run a vigorous counterattack on disparagement of police officers, giving them due praise and cordial support for doing their disagreeable duty. The mayor should pay bounties to citizens who inform on criminals and should give financial compensation to witnesses in criminal trials.

The Water Crisis: With the hot, dry summer coming up, City Hall should install a city-wide metering system and soak all users from one to three cents per 50 gallons. This would quickly discourage waste.

The Tax Base: All forms of city taxation should be abolished, and a substitute installed: the "value-added tax." This form of revenue-raising (widely used in West Europe) is based on the gross receipts of every business, minus what it purchases from other businesses. The principle is that any corporate or professional earner should contribute a just amount to the city services which it enjoys.

There are other ideas, the fallout of careful thinking left behind by the Conservative campaign, but these will suffice as a beginning. Many of the Right people, and some of the Wrong people, are deserting Lindsay as his image continues to crumble—but the conservative brain waves are there to sustain him.

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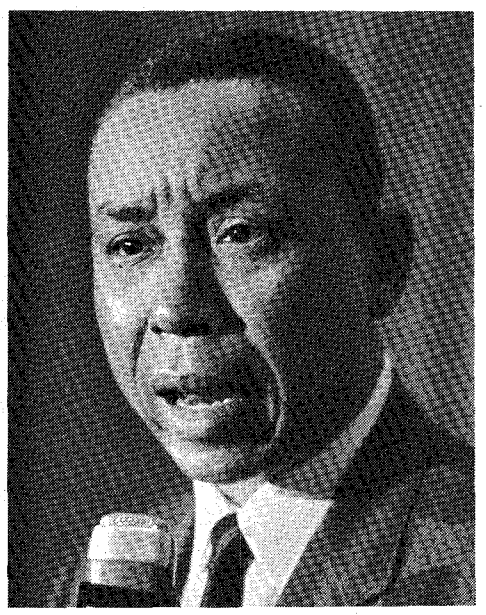
'Color-Conscious' Planning Dilutes Freedom

By JAMES JACKSON KILPATRICK

How far is it from Selma, Ala., to the Sheraton Hotel? A thousand miles? Recently, watching the White House Conference on Civil Rights, it seemed more like a thousand light years.

Some of the reporters who covered the conference had covered the Selma march. Some of them were veterans



Floyd McKissick, new national director of CORE, complained the White House conference was "rigged."

of Watts, of Oxford, of Birmingham and Little Rock. They had known the racial conflict in terms of the passionate hour, the smoking torch, the embattled street. They had known the story in the lives of men who sweat and swore, who shed real blood and cried real tears.

The week of June 1st, in the carpeted pastures of the Sheraton, they found the story curiously transformed. Here was a convention of men and women, well-mannered, well-dressed, thirsty for the sociable martini. There was a vast press room in the basement, rigged out with all the trappings of a national convention. The delegates had little shield-shaped badges, bearing their names, but these might have been badges of Chevrolet dealers, or Negro Elks, or life insurance agents. It was all modulated and regulated and briefed and pasteurized.

Everything about this conference was unreal. Every delegate had been furnished a copy of a 100-page report prepared by a 29-member council, containing a host of proposals for legislative action. "To some persons," said Vice President Humphrey, in the understatement of the week, "certain recommendations found in the council's report will appear to be radical and outside traditional American procedures and practices." Yet the council's report carried not a single dissenting word from any of its members.

What would these recommendations cost? Cost was a dream. Floyd McKissick, new head of CORE, asked for federal programs estimated at $23 billion a year for five years. No one murmured, gasped, shook his head. The figure could have been $53 billion or $93 billion. In the midst of these carpeted floors and tapestried walls, it was hard to hear what he said.

The conference lacked even the pull and haul of internally conflicting factions. McKissick's resolution, dealing with Viet Nam, was a fizzle. The other resolutions were both predictable and unanimous. Some of the reporters shifted from one seminar to another, asking each other where the action was, but there wasn't any action. The morning and afternoon seminars might have been regional sales meetings, led by home-office panels. A good report from east St. Louis. A problem or two in Clarksdale.

The conference produced no exciting personalities. Stokely Carmichael, the smoldering new chief of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, boycotted the whole affair. Martin Luther King spent much of his time sulking upstairs. One of Mississippi's Freedom Democratic candidates for Congress was on hand, Lawrence Guyot of the 5th District, but he seemed almost as Rotarian as all the rest. The Johnson Administration sent its big names around—Hubert Humphrey, Thurgood Marshall, Arthur Goldberg, Robert Weaver, and on the night of June 1st the President himself. They came, and went, and left good will behind. Watts was a distant nightmare, and Selma a long way away.

Yet the recommendations that emerged from this civil rights conference are not nebulous. They are stunningly real. If they ever are written into law, they will result in a degree of federal control few men have dreamed of.

In the field of education, for example, the concept of a "color-blind" society is henceforth to be abandoned. "Congress should declare a policy of 'color-conscious' planning."

In housing, the recommendations demand of each community that it provide by law for a metropolitan-wide plan for the desegregation of housing and the promotion of biracial neighborhoods. In the absence of such local plans, federal assistance should be denied the community, and "the federal government should take direct action to provide the housing needed."

The reality is compulsion; and the compulsion is pervasive. At a Thursday morning seminar, one delegate from Durham, N.C., complained mildly that a threat to withhold federal aid merely from local governments might be both ineffective and self-defeating: Some intransigent local governments would kiss all federal aid good-bye; and Negroes themselves would be hurt most severely by a cut-off of federal funds for such programs as public welfare.

The answer of Robert C. Wood, under secretary of housing, was that the threat would be enlarged. Every form of federal assistance—the insurance of bank deposits, the insurance of veterans' loans, even Medicare—could be denied a community until it met its "full responsibility to the Negro."

No one in the room objected. In the front row, a nun kept knitting. The discussion moved to other topics. Staff assistants floated in and out, soft-footed, efficient. After a while, we all took a coffee break, and poured cream and sugar and Constitution into paper cups, and watched them all dissolve.

(Copyright 1966, Washington *Star* Syndicate)

A GOP Governor for Georgia?

By FULTON LEWIS JR.

Not in this century have Georgia Republicans even nominated a candidate for governor. But the chances are excellent that a 39-year-old Republican will be moving into the governor's mansion next January.

He is Howard "Bo" Callaway, a graduate of West Point who was elected to the House of Representatives in 1964, the first Republican since Reconstruction to represent the Peach State in Washington. Callaway has not yet announced his candidacy, but he is expected to do so by July.

For the last two years the handsome young congressman has built a statewide political organization that has, quite literally, panicked Georgia Democrats. Members of the state's Democratic congressional delegation believe that the Republicans will do more than capture the governorship. They fear the election of at least two, and possibly four, GOP representatives and sizable gains in the state legislature.

Former Gov. Ernest Vandiver abandoned his bid for a second term at Georgia's helm after statewide polls showed him trailing Callaway 58-42. Desperate Democrats then turned to Herman Talmadge, the state's junior senator and proud possessor of a once-magic name in Georgia politics. Talmadge dramatically announced that he was prepared to return home and run for governor, asking only a mandate from the people. Within a week, Talmadge had given up his plans to run for governor. He announced lamely that he had decided it would be unwise to surrender his 10 years of seniority in the Senate.

The Talmadge withdrawal left four candidates for the Democratic gubernatorial nomination: Ellis Arnall, a political warhorse who has not won elective office in more than 20 years; newspaper publisher Jimmy Gray of Albany; Lester Maddox, an extreme racist; and former Lt. Gov. Garland Byrd, who was defeated by Callaway for Congress two years ago.

Polls indicate that Callaway would easily defeat any of the four Democrats. A number of veteran Democrats have publicly thrown in the towel. Former House Speaker Roy Harris says the GOP congressman is a shoo-in. Another long-time Democratic leader, Denmark Groover, was quoted as saying, "The Democratic ship is sunk."

At least one former governor is expected to back Callaway. So are several dozen Democrats now holding elective office at the legislative, county and local levels.

Callaway, an articulate conservative, will campaign on state issues, demanding a complete overhaul of the state highway system, which has long been run inefficiently. A former member of the State Board of Regents, Callaway is expected to make the improvement of Georgia's school system a major issue.

Note: Republican gubernatorial candidates in three other Southern states have a good chance of victory. In Arkansas, Winthrop Rockefeller now looms as the favorite to succeed the Democrat, Orval Faubus, who is retiring. The younger brother of New York Gov. Nelson Rockefeller received 44 per cent of the vote in 1964. He should improve on that score because the Democrats are badly divided this year.

Rep. Jim Martin (R.-Ala.) has rejected advice that he abandon his race for governor in the wake of Lurleen Wallace's *landslide victory* in the Democratic primary. Martin notes that 47 per cent of the voters in that primary voted against Mrs. Wallace and he expects to pick up most of their support. This, added to the growing Republican strength, could give Martin an upset victory.

In Florida, Republican Claude Kirk could defeat Miami Mayor Robert King High, the Democrats' gubernatorial nominee. High won the Democratic nomination after a savage primary campaign, narrowly defeating incumbent Gov. Haydon Burns. Several of Burns' leading supporters are now backing Kirk and the governor has told associates that "under no circumstances" will he endorse High.

The last two GOP gubernatorial nominees in Florida received more than 40 per cent of the vote and Kirk is confident he will do even better. An attractive campaigner who comes across well on television, the GOP nominee has been assured of adequate financing for the race.

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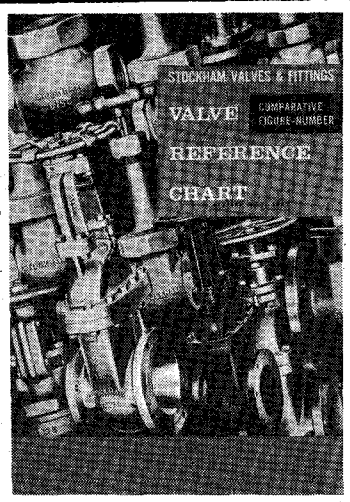

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As Election Approaches

Will LBJ Swing Right or Left?

By RALPH DE TOLEDANO

The approaching congressional elections—and President Johnson's decline in popularity—are giving the White House some worried thoughts about the future. The Viet Nam war, it is recognized, has hurt Mr. Johnson badly, but there are other factors responsible for a slippage which can mean a substantial loss of seats in the next Congress.

The President must decide now what course to take to restore his prestige

W. W. Rostow, a "soft," is the President's most influential advisor on foreign policy.

with the voters. And here he is the prisoner of his White House staff. On Viet Nam, for example, he has been urged to pay more attention to the "peaceniks" and to the senatorial cabal led by J. William Fulbright, Wayne Morse and Bobby Kennedy.

Mr. Johnson hears this regularly from Dr. Walt W. Rostow, formerly head of the State Department's policy planning staff and now the President's most influential adviser on foreign affairs. Dr. Rostow has been a consistent advocate of the theory that the United States cannot win the cold war and that the way to peace is by "an end to nationhood."

What Dr. Rostow hopes to prevent is the kind of action in Viet Nam that would bring the war to an end through the proper use of air power and a naval blockade. This is what most Americans want and as they see the drain of American material and the rising casualty rates, they turn against the President, though for different reasons from those of the "peaceniks."

According to military experts, gagged by Defense Secretary Robert Strange McNamara, sustained bombing of North Vietnamese storage facilities, arms depots and such industry as it has—plus a blockade to prevent Great Britain and our other "allies" from shipping vitally needed supplies to the Communists—would bring about the collapse of the enemy in from a month to six weeks.

If the President could present the American people with this kind of victory, he would pick up congressional seats in November, not lose them. But he is being told that should he embark on this vigorous and sound policy, he would antagonize the left-liberal coalition. Dr. Rostow, in particular, opposes everything but the present strategy of piecemeal escalation and inconclusive military action. This is in line with his views on eliminating the Strategic Air Command.

(It should be recalled that Dr. Rostow, in late 1960, returned from Moscow with a secret message from Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Vasily Kuznetsov to President-elect Kennedy urging the United States to scrap its first-strike weapons—a policy which began going into effect in May 1961 and which will be concluded by the very early 1970s.)

Critics of President Johnson are disturbed by the influence wielded by both Dr. Rostow and Defense Secretary McNamara. They argue that Mr. McNamara has already spent $273.5 billion, yet finds himself with a shortage of arms, bombs and other material, and is compelled to "cannibalize" our forces in order to supply the fighting forces in Viet Nam. According to confirmed studies of House and Senate investigators, two-thirds of our divisions are not combat-ready today because of shortages of weapons and trained personnel.

In the days and months ahead, both Dr. Rostow and Mr. McNamara will become liabilities to the President. If he eases them out, there will be an agonized outcry from the liberal-left. If he continues to give them cover in his Administration, moderate and conservative Americans will grow even more disillusioned.

The decision, therefore, has been removed from the realm of effective strategy and good government and thrown into the arena where right versus left contend. In military, as on fiscal matters, the President will be compelled to make a choice. The 1964 "consensus" that brought together industrialists and labor leaders, hawks and doves, free enterprisers and Socialists, is no longer viable.

The President is a pragmatic man. Right, left, or center—when the question is victory or defeat at the polls—means little to him. He will choose on the basis of his best estimate of the political situation. The temptation will be great to offer the American people a victory in Viet Nam. But given what he hears from the Rostows and the McNamaras, he fears that a one-two punch may not work, and then he will be the target of the "peaceniks" and their friends.

But the choice will have to be made. Even now, Mr. Johnson is being criticized for trying to be all things to all men. Observers here agree that he must either fish or cut bait pretty soon.

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SEN. FRANK LAUSCHE (D.-Ohio) has denounced the use of $1.1 million in federal funds to finance a study on alcoholism by a Stanford University professor. After five years of study, Prof. F. A. Plaut advised parents to serve their teen-age children liquor as a sound "way of preventing alcoholism." He also urged that restrictions on liquor advertisements on radio and television be lifted and the TV commercials portray family scenes in which alcohol is served and children were present.

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COUNTERPART FUNDS—The United States holds a total of $2.9 billion in foreign currency in 88 countries of the world, according to the Department of the Treasury. The foreign funds held by the United States are subject to various restrictions on their use, chiefly that they cannot be spent outside the foreign country.

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WORKERS' SHRINKING PAY—Average pay hikes for U.S. factory workers have been shrinking in the last five years, according to the Labor Department's own figures. What's more, the average factory worker with a wife and two children paid $1 out of every $10 he earned in 1965 for federal income and Social Security taxes. This compares to 15 cents out of every $10 in 1948.

BOOK NOTES

A Book-By-Mail Service For HUMAN EVENTS Readers

That we take note of a book here does not necessarily mean we fully endorse it, nor even that it is written from a conservative viewpoint. It means merely that we regard it as one which may have an impact on political thinking, and accordingly may be of interest to our readers.

THE EDITORS

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MY TURN by John O'Hara (Random House, 214 pages, $4.95).

In over nearly half a century of turning out novels and short stories John O'Hara has not only earned wealth and fame, but has distinguished himself as a profound social critic. Along with great literary success quite naturally came membership-in-good-standing in the Liberal Establishment, Arts and Letters Division.

But, he relates, after a life of voting the straight Democratic ticket, the prospect of casting a ballot for Adlai Stevenson triggered some reactionary mechanism in him and he began a reassessment of his positions on various public issues. What emerged from this soul-searching was a rugged individualist—a unique conservative.

In October 1964 John O'Hara returned to journalism to write a weekly column of opinion. Nobody, he promised, would ever doubt where he stood. He was right. Fifty-three lively columns later, a sufficient number of timid, controversy-shy editors had dropped his column and once again he was an ex-journalist.

My Turn collects those 53 columns and without even reading all of them one can understand why those editors who expected from O'Hara companion pieces to Walter Lippmann's musings were a disappointed lot. O'Hara's acid observations cover a broad spectrum—from cigarette smoking to Bobby Kennedy, from organized charity to Martin Luther King.

A large part of the book is given over to zestful recollections of O'Hara's past friendships and feuds. Journalism, of course, is not his work, but his fun. "I am probably a grouch," he concedes, "but I get my laughs at the expense of the liberals and the intellectuals." He feels comfortable in the conservative reformation because, he says, "it is a gathering place for individuals. Rugged or not, individualism flourishes in the conservative movement. How sweet it is!"

There are views expressed that many conservatives will disagree with, but that is as it should be, since O'Hara's brand of conservatism has individualism at its core.

CLASSICS OF CONSERVATISM (Arlington House, 6 volumes in slipcover $35.00).

A beautifully bound set including **The Federalist Papers, The Wealth of Nations, Reflections on the Revolution in France** and **Democracy in America**. An indispensable cornerstone to every conservative's library.

FOR CONSPICUOUS GALLANTRY by Donald E. Cooke (C. S. Hammond & Co., 93 Pages, $3.50).

The stories of thirty-two winners of the Medal of Honor, from the Civil War to Viet Nam. Included are the stories of Eddie Rickenbacker, Alvin C. York, Charles A. Lindbergh and William C. Mitchell.

New York Experience Illustrates Socialized Medicine Is at Hand

From the *Weekly Labor Forecast and Review*

When Congress was debating the Medicare act, both supporters and opponents of the measure were in essential agreement on one issue: that its enactment would be but the first step in the direction of eventual socialized medicine.

A part of the Medicare program which justifies this prediction is additional legislation passed at the same time the Medicare bill was enacted, giving the states an inducement to inaugurate or expand programs of health service for the needy. They are permitted to do this by agreeing to pay 50 per cent of the cost of health service for the "medically indigent."

Congress, in effect, invited and encouraged the states to establish medical care programs not only for welfare cases but also for persons who were economically self-sufficient—but for whom medical and hospital costs would mean financial disaster.

Under this program, the federal government will pay 50 per cent of the bills and the state and local governments 25 per cent each.

New York is the first state to pass such a bill and the measure has been signed by Gov. Nelson Rockefeller.

Called "Medical Assistance for Needy Persons," the measure will pay in full bills New Yorkers incur for doctors, dentists, nurses, optometrists, podiatrists, medical care, treatment, maintenance, nursing at hospitals, clinics, in the home or on an out-patient basis; drugs, sick room supplies, eyeglasses, false teeth, prosthetic appliances, physical therapy and rehabilitation services; laboratory and X-ray services; flu and polio shots and maternity cases.

In other words, "whatever the patient needs and the doctor decides he needs, the patient is going to get," according to a New York welfare official. This would seem to be as close to socialized medicine as you can get.

In addition, the bill relieves children of the responsibility of caring for indigent parents and will pick up the tab for unpaid medical bills dating back to last February.

The bill differs from outright socialized medicine as practiced in Great Britain and elsewhere only in that it does set up certain eligibility standards. But these are quite lenient. For example, a wage earner in a family of eight could earn up to $9,400 a year in net income after deducting income taxes and the cost of health insurance premiums, and he and his family would be eligible for free health care.

Savings are exempted up to one-half of the annual net income and life insurance with a face value of $1,000 is exempt for each member of the family.

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IT ALL EVENS OUT—Older people worry how they'll manage after they retire; the younger ones worry about how they'll manage until.—From the *Jay-Bee Upsondowns*

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In 1956, Polish workers rioted against the Communist government in Poznan. Poland has had a long history of fighting against oppression.

People Defy Regime

Religion Still Strong in Poland

By IRENE CORBALLY KUHN

When several hundred Poles recently tore down and burned a huge government signboard in the historic seaport of Gdansk, the former Free City of Danzig, they proved once again the tenuous hold communism has on people who have long known freedom.

Moreover, the action shows the strength of religion in Poland despite two decades of Communist control of the country, and continuing efforts to promote atheism.

The Poles who took their lives in their hands to tear down the signboard the Red regime had put up were showing their support of the Polish primate, Stefan Cardinal Wyszynski. The Cardinal each Sunday visits a different diocese to lead celebrations of Poland's thousand years of Christianity.

The Cardinal and the Polish bishops have taken a stand that is inimical to the Communist government's position on its attitude toward the Germans over World War II. The clergymen, in obedience to Christian principles, believe in and preach forgiveness. One of the Red signboards on the 15-foot-high steel platform bore the words, "We do not forgive." The other condemned the last German bishop of Danzig, Karl Maria Splett, who died in West Germany.

This is not the first time in recent weeks, or years, that Cardinal Wyszynski has been the center of anti-government action by the people who dare to defy the regime in order to show their loyalty to their Cardinal and their religion. Nor will it be the last; for Cardinal and people are united in their detestation of the Red regime they are not yet able to overthrow.

The Poles, for their entire history, have lived by the slogan "God and Country" and their history is replete with examples of their devotion to both.

Ten years ago, during the celebration of Marian Year in Poland, one and a half million Poles passed in procession by the empty chair of the imprisoned primate. At the time, Cardinal Wyszynski was a prisoner of the Communist regime. He was not put into jail but had to endure a sort of house arrest, being whisked from place to place so that the people wouldn't know his whereabouts.

The Poles have been preparing for the thousandth anniversary of the conversion of the Polish King Mieszko from paganism to Christianity for nine years. During the nine-year period preceding 1966, the Poles made many pledges to uphold their faith, the sanctity of the home, the regeneration of the family, the Christian education of the younger generation, justice and equity in the community and brotherly love, as well as others directly opposite the tenets of Communist doctrine.

The Communist regime in Poland has not strengthened its position with the people, or gained any converts by its refusal to welcome Pope Paul, who had expressed his desire to visit Poland during the millenary.

The courageous and steadfast faith of clergy and people alike in Poland is in marked contrast with the wavering and wondering of so many Western Christians who are resorting to modern sales methods and jazz and hipster entertainment in the churches to hold and attract congregations.

The Poles, despite the repressive conditions of their lives, are not turning their ancient churches into jazz festivals and discotheques; nor are they asking "Is God Dead?" They leave these effete practices and arrogant questioning to weaker, softer people whose steel has not been tempered in the fire of the Communist furnace.

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SHACKLED AIR FORCE—American Air Force officers in Viet Nam are still bitterly complaining about the severe restrictions on bombing North Viet Nam. Unless we begin to hit vital targets, they say, we'll never win the war. But thus far the Administration seems just as intent as ever to pursue its pitty-pat bombing policy of the north. Air Force Secretary Harold Brown, a satellite of Defense Secretary Robert McNamara, said that hitting North Viet Nam any harder might widen the war.

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"IF CONGRESS CAN employ money indefinitely for the general welfare, and is to be the sole and supreme judge of the general welfare, then Congress may take the care of religion into its own hands. It may appoint teachers in every state, county and parish, and pay them out of the public treasury. It may take into its own hands the education of children, establishing in like manner schools throughout the Union. It may do that, and it would subvert the very foundations, and transmute the very nature of the limited government established by the people."—James Madison

Only People Pay Taxes

By PAUL HARVEY

Britain's Labor government has borrowed a slick trick from the Johnson Administration: disguising increased taxes to look like higher prices. This way industry gets the blame instead of government.

I don't mean that President Johnson invented this expedient, but he refined it.

Britain's Labor government budget, $25.6 billion for the upcoming fiscal year, "could not be met without increased taxes."

But the British working man is already burdened by a discouraging tax load. So their government was disinclined to antagonize these voters—directly. Therefore, Britain's chancellor of the exchequer, James Callahan, on May 2nd delighted the electorate with the announcement that there will be "no new income or sales taxes at this time."

Instead—and hear this, because you will recognize the formula—Britain will institute a "payroll tax" in September. "Understand, the employe won't pay it," he says. "Industry will pay it," he says.

Industry does not pay taxes; none ever has or ever will. Increased taxes on any business are always passed along to the customer. Increase the taxes on any industry and you automatically increase the price of that industry's products. Industry does not pay taxes.

Only people pay taxes!

Britain's new payroll tax calls for a levy on every man, woman and child employed in any service industry in Britain. The tax is $3.50 a week for men, less for others.

The employer, to cover this higher cost of doing business, will have to raise prices on whatever goods or services he sells.

The consumer will pay more for food, clothing, haircuts and hotel rooms. He will pay extra for home loans, restaurant meals, laundry and dry cleaning, banking charges, auto repairs, etc.

Barclay's Bank expects this payroll tax will cost them another $84,000 a week. This increase they will pass on to the bank's customers.

The Kensington Palace Hotel expects this tax will total another $2,800 a week. Hotel room rates will be increased to correspond.

Thus prices will rise higher and higher. The increased cost of living will result in increased wage demands. Increased wages will drive the cost of living higher still.

The working man's purse will be fatter, but the paper in it will buy less. He has been tricked. His taxes have been raised without Whitehall raising his taxes! Our own Washington Administration has promised no increase in taxes this summer. Thus, another painful bite will be postponed until after election.

Meanwhile, increased government spending is creating a palliative paper prosperity. Resultant inflation is shrinking your $10 bill four cents a month!

However cleverly government may becloud the source of its income . . . only people pay taxes.

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SPOTLIGHT on CONGRESS

Debt Ceiling

By REP. RICHARD ROUDEBUSH (R.-Ind.)

A debt ceiling is meaningless to this Administration. There is absolutely no restraint on spending despite the ravages of an inflationary spiral that is driving living costs upward every day and eroding the value of the dollar. Even in the midst of a major war in Southeast Asia that is increasing in cost daily and which the Administration refuses to commit itself to winning despite the sacrifice of thousands of American lives, the domestic spending binge continues unabated. We have in recent days witnessed the spectacle of the Administration's enticing minority groups and special interest groups with even more promises of federal giveaways designed to preserve the President's congressional majority this fall through the device of exchanging public monies to favored groups in return for bloc votes. The debt limit increase will pass, no doubt, because the White House has an overwhelming majority in the House of Representatives which is subservient to an Administration possessing not a shred of financial or fiscal responsibility. But the time is fast running out when the Administration can have its fiscal cake and eat it too. At a time when the President exhorts the housewife to feed her family bologna, urges businessmen to forego expansion and wage earners to restrain their pay requests, the Administration itself should exhibit some control over its spending appetites.

China 'Reappraisal'

By REP. RICHARD POFF (R.-Va.)

Administration spokesmen are beginning to talk now about "reappraisal" of our China policy. In a nutshell, all this means is that the Administration is softly and slowly, but firmly and surely trying to soften the American attitude and condition the American will to accept Red China as a partner in the United Nations Security Council where she will enjoy a veto. Like the lady who thinks that the best way to reform a rogue is to marry him, the United States will most certainly be disillusioned if this current "reappraisal" results in a reversal of our Chinese policy.

One-Way Street

By SEN. STROM THURMOND (R.-S. C.)

Increased trade with the Communists does not even offer significant short-term economic prospects. The Red countries do not have any substantial foreign exchange, nor do they have the capability of producing the types and qualities of goods to satisfy Western markets and thereby earn the needed foreign exchange. Their economic planning is designed to meet military requirements first, with the remainder for internal needs, rather than export markets. Increased trade with the Reds is a one-way street, with the advantages all on the Communist side. It is a most blatant form of accommodation, an approach which in no way "mellows" the Communists. . . . In World War II, American servicemen faced Japanese bullets made from U.S. scrap iron. Today, American servicemen face the fire of forces supported by the industrial capacity of all the Communist countries, including those in East Europe. To bolster those same Red economies with U.S. trade is to ignore the painful lessons of history and to invite disaster.

Cuban Build-Up

By REP. JOHN DOWDY (D.-Tex.)

More open Russian military activity is reported in Cuba than any time since the missile build-up in 1961. Refugees report the arrival of soldiers and technicians in large groups, and the arrival of machinery and equipment, particularly earth-tunneling equipment. These installations and forces could be either aggressive or defensive, or both. Havana has been made the major center for the spread of revolution in our hemisphere, and this requires trained agents, money and weapons. Unrest among the Cubans who have been going along with Castro is growing because of the collapse of the Cuban economy, so the presence of Red troops could aid Castro to continue suppressing the people, while at the same time they continue their subversive ventures in other Latin American countries.

REA Expansion

By REP. FRANK T. BOW (R.-Ohio)

With little publicity or fanfare, the House Committee on Agriculture had four days of hearings on legislation that would turn the Rural Electrification Administration system into a gigantic nationwide network of government - subsidized utilities with potential investment almost half that of the total investment in electric utility companies in the United States today. The ostensible purpose of the legislation is to provide additional methods of financing the rural electric cooperatives. Presently they obtain loans from the federal government at a 2 per cent rate of interest. The new proposal would authorize a Federal Electric Bank to which the taxpayers would contribute a basic fund of $1 billion ($750 million in one of the bills). By selling debentures, selling stocks to borrowers and plowing back repayments, this fund could grow to $20 billion in 15 years.

The new legislation would take off from this beginning by authorizing REA virtually without limitation or control to finance generating plants, transmission networks, serving urban as well as rural consumers, presumably in competition with existing public utilities, both privately and government-financed. It seems to me that the time has come when Congress must reconsider the entire REA program and determine whether this will continue to be a program of service to rural people or a new giant utility combination. The issue should be discussed in every public forum so that the people of this country can express themselves intelligently on the subject. A proposal of this magnitude should not be rushed through the legislative mill in haste, as seems to be the present purpose of its sponsors.

Small Taxpayers

By SEN. NORRIS COTTON (R.-N. H.)

The small taxpayer deserves consideration. He's the fellow who really supports the government. The Tax Foundation comes up with the striking fact that if Uncle Sam seized all individual income over $25,000 a year, it would run the government just four days. If he confiscated all income over $10,000 a year, it would carry the government only 24 days. A common fallacy is the idea that we can operate an all-embracing government and let the rich pay for it. There aren't enough of them. The millions with small incomes pay the billions in taxes. We on the Appropriations Committee have to weigh the demands of federal agencies competing for money to operate 100 programs at home and aid 100 foreign countries. I wonder how they would fare if the taxpayer made the choice. An officer of Internal Revenue told me of an old lady who wrote at the bottom of her return: "Please give my money to some nice country."

Indian Hunger

By SEN. FRANK LAUSCHE (D.-Ohio)

India has no graver problem than the responsibility of providing food to sustain the lives of its inhabitants. In this responsibility, it has failed indefensibly and inhumanely. Its officials have insisted upon a socialistic governmentally operated economy as the solution of the problems of its hungry people.

The American International Oil Co. for several years has been prepared to build a $60-million farm-fertilizer plant, being one of the primary steps that must be taken in India to provide food for its inhabitants. The officials of the Indian government, however, adhering to their concept that socialism will provide the cure for the problems confronting the Indian people, insisted that if the American International Oil Co. did build a fertilizer plant in India, the management of it would have to be vested in the Indian government. The American International Oil Co., of course, refused to hazard a huge investment of its dollars while it was denied the right to manage and that right was placed in the Socialist government of India.

India adhered to its socialistic philosophy; the American International Oil Co. prudently refused to invest its money in a farm-fertilizer plant in India unless the management of the plant was placed in the hands of the investors and not in those of the Indian Socialist government.

The officials of India finally recognized that it will be in the best interest of the hungry inhabitants of this nation of 500 million people to allow investors of the United States to build a fertilizer plant and to operate it under the management of skilled U.S. personnel.

No more important forward step has been made by the officials of the Indian government than the decision to allow foreign investors to build a $60-million farm-fertilizer plant in partnership with the government of India but allowing its management to be in the hands of the foreign investors and learned in the management of such plants.

Following is the 53-to-32 Senate rollcall vote on an amendment by Sen. Norris Cotton (R.-N. H.) to the Administration's "truth-in-packaging" bill. The Cotton amendment would have stricken from the bill any attempts to set or standardize package sizes, but Senate liberals, obsessed with the need to "regulate the consumer" voted down the amendment.

FOR THE AMENDMENT: 32

DEMOCRATS (7): Eastland, Ervin, Holland, Jordan, Jordan (N. C.), Lausche, Stennis and Talmadge.

REPUBLICANS (25): Bennett, Boggs, Carlson, Cooper, Cotton, Curtis, Dirksen, Dominick, Fannin, Griffin, Hickenlooper, Hruska, Jordan (Idaho), Miller, Morton, Mundt, Murphy, Pearson, Prouty, Saltonstall, Scott, Thurmond, Tower, Williams (Del.) and Young (N. D.).

AGAINST THE AMENDMENT: 53

DEMOCRATS (49): Anderson, Bartlett, Bible, Brewster, Burdick, Byrd (Va.), Byrd (W. Va.), Cannon, Church, Clark, Dodd, Douglas, Ellender, Fulbright, Gore, Harris, Hart, Hartke, Hill, Inouye, Jackson, Kennedy (Mass.), Long (Mo.), Long (La.), Magnuson, McCarthy, McGee, McGovern, McIntyre, Metcalf, Mondale, Monroney, Morse, Muskie, Nelson, Neuberger, Pastore, Pell, Proxmire, Randolph, Ribicoff, Robertson, Russell (Ga.), Smathers, Sparkman, Symington, Williams (N. J.), Yarborough and Young (Ohio).

REPUBLICANS (4): Aiken, Case, Javits and Smith.

NOT VOTING: 15

Still No Braceros

By SEN. GEORGE MURPHY (R.-Calif.)

The facts show that one of the major reasons why fruits and vegetables cost more today than a year ago is the higher production cost forced on our farmers by impractical labor policies instigated by Secretary of Labor Willard Wirtz. Today in California nearly $6 million worth of asparagus is waiting to be harvested and may rot in the fields if help is not forthcoming immediately. Farmers have tried to find enough domestic workers to avert this crisis but have been unsuccessful and they requested Secretary Wirtz to permit the use of 2,500 extra workers from Mexico to harvest these crops. If these workers are not available immediately, housewives all over America once more will pay more for asparagus this year than last and, may I say, more than they should have to pay.

Dancing Response

By REP. H. R. GROSS (R.-Iowa)

I have been pleasantly surprised by the tremendous response to my criticism on May 10 of exhibitionist dancing at the Smithsonian Institution and dances at the White House which last until 3 o'clock in the morning. Hundreds of letters and telegrams have poured into my office from all parts of the nation. Ninety-nine per cent or more have denounced the highjinks that have been taking place in the "Great Society"—especially while American young men are fighting and dying in a sanguinary war thousands of miles from home. Let me make it clear that I am not against dancing and I am not against fun and relaxation. But the leaders of this nation, including President Johnson, have a responsibility to show at least some restraint, especially in these critical times.

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Simply provide us with the names and addresses of your friends, co-workers, club members and other prospects, along with $1.00 for every two names. We will send each of them the *Introductory Package* as described and, if you wish, we will also *personalize* the package with your name, to show that it is being sent at your request.

If you can think of only a few good prospects (or if you can't think of any) at the moment—don't let it stop you. We have access to the names of tens of thousands of excellent prospects—many in key election areas—who could be persuaded to work and vote for conservatives like Ronald Reagan in California or John Ashbrook in Ohio. Again, for each dollar you send, we can reach two of these prospects with our *Introductory Package*.

So send us the names of your own best prospects now and let us select others from our prospect lists—all at the rate of *two Introductory Packages* for just $1.00.

Important to Act Now

Interest in the Congressional elections is growing greater every day. Now is the time to try harder! A switch of a mere handful of votes in marginal election districts could spell victory for conservative candidates in November!

We hope to reach thousands of concerned voters before election day. *Human Events* has played a major role in past congressional races and we will again—this year—if you help us *now*.

Use the form below to help us reach as many voters as possible with our *Special Introductory Package*.

DETACH AND MAIL TODAY

To: HUMAN EVENTS • 410 First Street, S.E.
Washington, D. C. 20003

6-18-66

Gentlemen:

I think your plan to reach thousands of prospective readers (and conservative voters!) with **Human Events Special Introductory Packages** is an excellent idea! I understand you can reach two prospects for every dollar received. Enclosed is:

☐ $25 ☐ $15 ☐ $10 ☐ $5 ☐ $1 Other $_____

Please send Introductory Packages to:

No.

_____ of my prospects (named at right)

_____ of your prospects

My Name_____
(Please Print)

Address_____

City_____

State_____ ZIP_____

☐ *CHECK HERE if you wish to receive a complimentary copy of THE HUMAN EVENTS STORY by Fulton Lewis Jr.*

MY PROSPECTS:

Name_____
(Please Print)
Address_____
City/State_____ ZIP_____
Package to read from: _____

Name_____
(Please Print)
Address_____
City/State_____ ZIP_____
Package to read from: _____

Name_____
(Please Print)
Address_____
City/State_____ ZIP_____
Package to read from: _____

Name_____
(Please Print)
Address_____
City/State_____ ZIP_____
Package to read from: _____

Name_____
(Please Print)
Address_____
City/State_____ ZIP_____
Package to read from: _____

Name_____
(Please Print)
Address_____
City/State_____ ZIP_____
Package to read from: _____

Name_____
(Please Print)
Address_____
City/State_____ ZIP_____
Package to read from: _____

Name_____
(Please Print)
Address_____
City/State_____ ZIP_____
Package to read from: _____

Please list additional prospects on a separate sheet.

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